

GREAT ZIMBABWE

*The Iron Age in
South Central Africa*

by

Joseph O. Vogel



RESEARCH GUIDES TO ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS
VOL. 2

Great Zimbabwe

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The Iron Age in South Central Africa

by
Joseph O. Vogel

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To
My Friends.
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who kindly befriended my family and introduced us to the archaeology of
south central Africa.
KEITH ROBINSON
in whose pleasant and knowledgeable company we first visited Khami **DR.**
KAFUNGULWA MUBITANA
in whose company we travelled into the bush to study the village life of
southern Zambia.
and
to my wife,
JEAN
who made our many long arduous safaris a pleasure.

The empire of Negus to his utmost port
Eroco and the less maritime kings
Mombasa, Quiloa, and Melind,
and Sofida thought Ophir. . . .
Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1695

On entering this country of Sofala there is the country of Benamatapa. . . .
Leaving Sofala for the interior. . .there is a large town . . . called Zimboach
in which the King frequently dwells. . . .
The Book of Duarte Barbosa, 1514

It is a square fortress of stone. ., . The wall five and twentie spans thick, the
height not holding proportion. . . . They esteem them beyond humane power
to build, and, therefore, account them the workes of Devils. . . .
Purchas, *His Pilgrimages*, 1617

Contents

[Series Editor's Preface](#)

[Preface](#)

[INTRODUCTION](#)

[King Solomon's Mines](#)

[The Empire of Monomatapa](#)

[This Bibliography and Its Origins](#)

[Some Historical Sources](#)

[SOME REPORTS OF ARAB AND PORTUGUESE](#)

[CONTACTS](#)

[Arab and Portuguese Contact](#)

[The Ophir Question](#)

[A Compilation of Traditional Sources](#)

[Some Argument Based on Historical Authority](#)

[BIBLIOGRAPHIES](#)

[Comprehensive Research Bibliographies](#)

[Specialist and Regional Bibliographies](#)

[South Africa](#)

[Zimbabwe](#)

[Zambia](#)

[Botswana](#)

[Southern Africa, Generally](#)

[Malawi](#)

[Mozambique](#)

[Zaire](#)

[GUIDE BOOKS AND TRAVELLERS'](#)

[ACCOUNTS](#)

[Guides to the Archaeology](#)

[South Africa](#)

[Zambia](#)

[Zimbabwe](#)

[Bulawayo Area](#)

[Inyanga Area](#)

[Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Travellers Guidebooks](#)

[Travellers to Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Late 19th Century](#)

[Early to Mid-20th Century](#)

[Research Oriented](#)

Travel Oriented

A GENERAL HISTORY OF GREAT

ZIMBABWE

Disorder in Mashonaland

Agricultural Beginnings

Social Strategies of Savanna Farmers

The Politics of Cattle Ownership

Towns Develop in the Limpopo Valley

Great Zimbabwe

The Lord of the Mines

Interpretations of Zimbabwean Culture

The Context of Southern African Prehistory

Background to the Zimbabwean System

Advanced States in Africa

History of Culture in Southern Africa

Mapungubwe and the Limpopo Valley Sites

Great Zimbabwe: “Essentially African”

The Results of Field Research

Some Interpretative Reaction to Field

Studies

[Syntheses and Interpretations](#)

[Marxist Interpretation](#)

[Black Studies Oriented](#)

[Popularly Oriented](#)

[Varied Interpretations of the Past: A](#)

[Debate](#)

[The Founders of Zimbabwean Civilization: An](#)

[Exchange](#)

[Great Zimbabwe: “Foreign Intruders”](#)

[Some Current Interpretations and](#)

[Responses](#)

[Bruwer](#)

[Hromnik](#)

[Mallows](#)

[Gayre](#)

[Some Older Versions of the Non-African](#)

[Version](#)

[Products of Field Research](#)

[Historical Surveys](#)

[Interpretative Exercises](#)

SYMPOSIA, CONFERENCES AND

MULTI-AUTHORED COMPENDIA

Atlases

Multi-authored Volumes

Conference and Symposium Reports

ORIGINS, TECHNOLOGY AND SPREAD OF

AGRICULTURE

Agricultural Techniques and Practices

Ecological Effects

Pastoralism and Cattle Ranging

Land Use Patterns

Ethnographic Observations

Settlement Systems in Southern Zambia

The Initiation of Food Production

The Spread of Food Production to the South

A Pre-European Introduction of Maize?

SOME TRADITIONAL HISTORY AND

PRACTICES

Traditional History on the Plateau

Zimbabwe

[Malawi](#)

[Zaire](#)

[Some Traditional Cultural Practices](#)

[Territorial and Ancestral Cults](#)

[Carved Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Iron Gongs](#)

[The Mwari Cult](#)

[Rainmaking](#)

[Burial Practices](#)

[**REGIONAL SYNTHESSES IN SOUTH CENTRAL**](#)

[**AFRICA**](#)

[Zimbabwe](#)

[Mashonaland](#)

[Zambia](#)

[The Early Iron Age](#)

[Southern Zambia](#)

[Eastern Zambia](#)

[The Victoria Falls Region](#)

[The Kalomo Tradition: A Debate on Origins](#)

[Malawi](#)

[South Central Africa, Generally](#)

[Huffman and Phillipson: A Short Debate](#)

[The Early Iron Age](#)

[The Later Iron Age](#)

HISTORIES OF EXPLORATION AND

RESEARCH

[Histories of Exploration](#)

[Histories of Archaeological Research](#)

[Themes and Processes in African Archaeology](#)

[Histories of Research](#)

[The Intellectual and Political Environment](#)

THE SEARCH FOR

OPHIR—1860–1890

[The Fountains of the Nile](#)

[Merensky and Nachtigal Journey into the](#)

[Interior](#)

[Merensky](#)

[Nachtigal](#)

[The Site of Ophir](#)

[The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land](#)

[Some Commentaries on the Ruined Cities of Zulu
Land](#)

[Carl Mauch at Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Carl Mauch, His Letters and Writings](#)

[Translations](#)

[Biographical Notes](#)

[Thomas Baines](#)

[A Contemporary Spanish Compilation](#)

[Contemporary Commentaries](#)

[Mauch Revisited](#)

[W. Posselt Visits Great Zimbabwe](#)

[The Chartered Company Expedition](#)

[The Participants' Descriptions](#)

[Commentaries Arising from This Expedition](#)

[Other Material of Related Historical Interest](#)

[**EXPLORING THE ANCIENT**](#)

[**RUINS—1890–1914**](#)

[The Bent Expedition and Archaeology of the
'90s](#)

[J. Theodore Bent and the Ancient](#)

Phoenicians

The Research of J. Theodore Bent

Biographical

About the Bent Expedition

The French and German Press

A Contrary Professional Opinion

Robert W. M. Swan and Ancient Sun

Worshippers

The Investigations of Robert Swan

Comment on the Research of Robert Swan

The Ruins in Mashonaland: A Debate

Henry Schlichter Tours Great Zimbabwe

The Writings of H. G. Schlichter

Comment on the Conclusions of

Schlichter

Carl Peters Searches the Zambezi Valley.

Carl Peters Explores Ophir

Reports of Carl Peters

Some Commentary on Carl Peters

Carl Peters Refuted

[Sir John Willoughby Digs at Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Other Investigations and Commentaries](#)

[Surveying the Ruins](#)

[Richard N. Hall](#)

[Hall and W. G. Neal](#)

[Reviewers of Hall and Neal](#)

[About R. N. Hall](#)

[Hall: "Great Zimbabwe. . . ."](#)

[And Its Reviewers](#)

["Prehistoric Rhodesia. . . ."](#)

[And a Review](#)

[Reports by R. N. Hall](#)

[The Conical Tower at Great Zimbabwe](#)

[The Majiri Ruins](#)

[Some Ethnographic Observations by Hall](#)

[A Controversy over the Builders](#)

[Franklin White](#)

[Great Zimbabwe](#)

[The Bulawayo Area: Khami, Regina and Dhlo](#)

[Dhlo](#)

[The Lumene Site](#)

[Edward M. Andrews and the Webster Site](#)

[Reports by Andrews](#)

[A Report of Andrews' Investigations](#)

[Other Investigators and Commentators](#)

[Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Khami and the Bulawayo Area](#)

[Great Zimbabwe and Khami](#)

[Naletale](#)

[Umnukwane](#)

[Some Ethnographic Observations](#)

[Some Language Studies](#)

[Some Interpretative Opinions](#)

[SYSTEMATIC](#)

[EXCAVATIONS—1905–1945](#)

[David Randall-MacIver, 1905](#)

[The Research of Randall-MacIver](#)

[“Mediaeval Rhodesia. . . .”](#)

[And a Review](#)

[Biographical](#)

[Commentary on Randall-MacIver](#)

[Some More Skeletal Evidence](#)

[J. F. Schofield Surveys Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Gertrude Caton-Thompson, 1928](#)

[The Research of Caton-Thompson](#)

[Commentary on Caton-Thompson](#)

[The Aerial Survey](#)

[Research and Commentary of the '20s and](#)

['30s](#)

[Of Ophir and Southern Arabians](#)

[The Expedition of the Pharaoh Necho](#)

[Some Relevant Ethnographic Observations](#)

[SURVEYING, SYSTEMATIZING AND](#)

[SYNTHESIZING](#)

[The Monumental Sites, Generally](#)

[Investigations at Great Zimbabwe](#)

[Robinson, Summers and Whitty](#)

[Other Investigations](#)

[Gatehouse and Walton: a Small Debate](#)

[Some Investigations at Khami](#)

Some Evidence from Rock Art

THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL

SYNTHESES

Investigations of Great Zimbabwe

Economy

Mining and Metallurgy

The Great Enclosure and Domba: A Debate

Matters of Chronology

The Controversial Lintels

Time Relative and Absolute

Ingombe Ilede, a Zambezi Valley Trading Town

Field Reports and Interpretation

Chronology

Imported Commodities

Interregional Connections?

Metalworking

The Lekkerwater Site, Southwestern Zimbabwe

Khami, an Economic Study

Portuguese Interaction

Northern Zimbabwe

[Settlement Archaeology](#)

[Southern Zimbabwe](#)

[Gold-bearing Burials](#)

[**ANCIENT STONE KRAALS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA**](#)

[Some Early Travellers' Observations](#)

[Mapungubwe](#)

[Fouché, “Mapungubwe. . . .”](#)

[And a Review](#)

[Gardner, “Mapungubwe”](#)

[Mapungubwe, Generally](#)

[The Ancient Mines of the Transvaal](#)

[Stone-built Enclosures of Southern Africa](#)

[Southern Zambia, a Singular Occurrence](#)

[South Africa, an Architectural Mode](#)

[The Transvaal](#)

[Orange Free State](#)

[Natal](#)

[Sotho-Tswana Associations](#)

[**THE AGRICULTURAL TERRACES OF EASTERN**](#)

AFRICA

Inyanga

Field Archaeology and Descriptions

Inyanga, as Cultivation Terraces

Inyanga, as an Ancient Fortification

East African Agricultural Terracing

ARCHAEOLOGICAL OBSERVATION OF

FUNERARY PRACTICE

Zaire

Malawi

Zambia

Central Zambia, Mass Burials

The Graves of Some Soli Chiefs

Victoria Falls Region Early Iron Age

Victoria Falls Region, the Later Iron Age

Zimbabwe

South Africa

TRADITIONAL CRAFTS AND

TECHNOLOGIES

Pottery

Mining and Metallurgy

An Early Traveller's Observations

Ethnographic Observations

Gold Extraction

Iron Extraction

Copper Extraction

Metallurgy Comes to South East Africa

Archaeological Observations

Mines and Mining

Iron

Traditional Iron Production: A

Discussion

Some Early Iron Age Tools

Copper

Tin

Experimental Observations

Iron

Copper

Metalworking, Generally

Salt

[Salt Production](#)

[The Salt Trade](#)

[Architecture and Settlements](#)

[Ethnographic Observations](#)

[Archaeological Observations](#)

[Settlement Patterns in Zululand](#)

TRADE

[Ethno-historical Observations](#)

[Archaeological Observations](#)

[Trade Beads, an Imported Commodity](#)

[Copper, as Currency](#)

THE IRON AGE IN SOUTH EAST

AFRICA

[Eastern Africa](#)

[Early Village Farmers](#)

[East African Pastoralists](#)

[Southern Zaire](#)

[Some Surveys of Culture History in Zaire](#)

[The Early Iron Age](#)

[Some Well-known Early Ceramics from Kasai](#)

Regional Surveys

Malawi

An Item of Ritual and Trade

Northern Malawi

Southern Malawi

Zambia

Northern Zambia

Kalambo Falls

Samfya

Eastern Zambia

The Copperbelt

Western Zambia

Archaeological Surveys

Sioma

Lubusi

Machili and Situmpa Ware

The Kafue Basin of Southern Zambia

Itezhitezi

Sebanzi

The Later Iron Age and Lineage Affinities

[The Batoka Plateau of Southern Zambia](#)

[The Victoria Falls Region of Southern](#)

[Zambia](#)

[Archaeological Survey.](#)

[Dambwa](#)

[Kamangoza](#)

[Kumadzulo](#)

[Kabondo Kumbo](#)

[Simbusenga](#)

[Settlement Archaeology.](#)

[Ceramic Traditions](#)

[Zimbabwe](#)

[The Gokomere Tradition](#)

[Ziwa](#)

[Leopard's Kopje Tradition](#)

[Sinoia and Kapwirimbe Traditions](#)

[Zimbabwean Settlements](#)

[Zambian Settlements](#)

[Northeast Zimbabwe](#)

[Chitope](#)

[Salisbury Common](#)

[Tafuna Hill](#)

[Northwest Zimbabwe](#)

[Southern Zimbabwe](#)

[Chamabvefva](#)

[Mabveni](#)

[Clay Figurines](#)

[Early Iron Age Affinities](#)

[Botswana](#)

[Ancient Mines and Mining](#)

[Archaeology of Hierarchical Settlement](#)

[Systems](#)

[Broadhurst, an Early Iron Age Settlement](#)

[The Toutswe Tradition](#)

[The Advent of Pastoralist Economies](#)

[Pottery Descriptions](#)

[Early Iron Age Migrations](#)

[The Later Iron Age](#)

[Northwestern Botswana](#)

[Some Ethnographic Observations](#)

Traditional Exchange Mechanisms

South Africa

The Transvaal

General Survey Results

Early Iron Age Sites

Tafelkop

Broederstroom

Silver Leaves

Phalabowra

Lydenburgh Heads Site

Klipviersberg

The Later Iron Age

Natal

Early Iron Age Sites

The Later Iron Age

Ceramic Chronology

Mozambique

Manykeni, a Mozambican Zimbabwe

Matola, an Early Iron Age Settlement

Chibuene, an Early Trading Settlement

[The Zambezi Valley](#)

[Coastal and Southern Mozambique](#)

[Namibia](#)

[Angola](#)

[SAN AND BANTU CONTACTS](#)

[Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of the Subcontinent](#)

[Examining Forager and Farmer Contacts](#)

[Coronation Park, Zimbabwe](#)

[A Sampling of Foraging Sites with Pottery](#)

[Bambata Cave, Zimbabwe](#)

[Dombozanga Rock Shelter, Zimbabwe](#)

[Gokomere Cave, Zimbabwe](#)

[Gwisho Hot Springs, Zambia](#)

[Kamusongolwa Kopje, Zambia](#)

[Luano Hot Springs, Zambia](#)

[Mumbwa Cave, Zambia](#)

[A Debate over some Purported Slag from](#)

[Mumbwa](#)

[A Debate over the Pottery from Mumbwa](#)

[Cave](#)

[Nakapapula Shelter, Zambia](#)

[Nyazongo Shelter, Zimbabwe](#)

[Pomongwe and Tshangula Caves, Zimbabwe](#)

[Shogweni Cave, South Africa](#)

[Thysville Cave, Southern Zaire](#)

[Various Localities in Malawi](#)

[Various Sites in the Transvaal](#)

[SURVEYS OF CHRONOLOGY AND](#)

[SYNTHESIS](#)

[Register of Authors](#)

[Topical Index](#)

Series Editor's Preface

In recent years there has been a significant increase of academic and popular interest in the study of past civilizations. This is due in part to the dramatic coverage of the archaeological profession in popular film and television, and extensive journalistic reporting of spectacular new finds from all parts of the world. Yet, because archaeologists and other scholars have tended to approach their study of ancient peoples and places exclusively from their own disciplinary perspectives, there has long been a lack of general bibliographic and other research resources available for the nonspecialist. This series is intended to fill that need.

Volumes in the *Research Guides to Ancient Civilizations* series are principally designed to introduce the general reader, student, and nonspecialist to the study of specific ancient civilizations. Each volume is devoted to a specific archaeological culture (for example, the ancient Maya of southern Mexico) or cultural region (for example, ancient Anatolia and Mesopotamia). Each volume in the series seeks to achieve, by use of careful selectivity and a critical assessment of the literature, an expression of a particular civilization and an appreciation of its achievements to guide the reader towards an understanding of its unique importance.

Each volume is written by an authority in the field and will provide a selective, annotated guide to the readily available literature (books, journal articles, essays in edited volumes, dissertations, etc.) in relevant languages. Each volume will also include an introductory essay that reviews appropriate literature for the field, suggests areas for future research, and describes the scope and organization of the work. In addition, each volume will contain extensive indexing for personal names, subjects, and other areas as appropriate.

The keynote of the *Research Guides to Ancient Civilizations* series is to provide, in a uniform format, an interpretation of each civilization that will express its culture and place in the world, and the qualities and background that make it unique.

Maya Civilization, the first volume in the series, is concerned with the romantic and enigmatic Maya civilization of southern Mexico and northern Central America. Forthcoming works include Paul Zimansky's volume on

Urartu in eastern modern Turkey and the Indus Valley civilization of South Asia by Rita Wright. Other projected volumes will cover the archaeology and prehistory of Hohokam culture of the American Southwest, the Phoenicians of the eastern Mediterranean, and the Nile Valley civilizations among others. Still others are in the planning stage.

Great Zimbabwe: The Iron Age in South Central Africa considers the important changes that took place in sub-Saharan Africa towards the end of the first millennium B.C. These changes involved not only the spread of new types of economic organization from the north, but also widespread movements of population. New forms of society were typified by changes that took place in the grasslands of southwestern Zimbabwe. Early Iron Age villages here were replaced by larger settlements, often fortified hilltops, and by the 13th century, state-level societies had developed. This transformation is best characterized by the Zimbabwe culture with its distinctive dry-stone masonry walls that surround dwelling units and courtyards. The earliest and largest stone-walled settlement was Great Zimbabwe. The first walls were constructed about A.D. 1200 and buildings were extended until the settlement covered some 40 hectares before its abandonment in A.D. 1450. More than a hundred smaller enclosures extended over the adjacent plateau. These were the dwellings of the ruling class of Shona. They were the symbols of its power: political statements. The Zimbabwe culture demonstrates the centralized control of a complex economy in a region with rich resources. With Professor Vogel's volume, the accomplishments of the ancient Zimbabwe culture should become available for undergraduate students and experienced scholars alike, to confront, explore, and appreciate.

Preface

This research guide was written as a comprehensive, though by no means exhaustive, survey of the literature pertinent to studying the indigenous complex societies of south central Africa. Although the paramount focus of the compilation was the archaeology of Great Zimbabwe, I have drawn from a broad geographical area and a wider period of time than that usually associated with Zimbabwean culture in order to demonstrate the cultural background for the growth of monumental trading towns in south central Africa.

Over the years, interest in Great Zimbabwe stemmed from a perception of mystery and a belief that it represented a foreign intrusion onto the open plateau of southern Africa. As a result, it and the other monumental sites of the Shona past were studied as an example of colonization by Semitic peoples in biblical times. As a consequence, many of the works cited here express this argument or participate in a debate which is not supported by the results of serious archaeology, since early in this century. Since this debate was formed in the cultural politics of the 19th century and the racial politics of the 20th, we can not avoid it, it is integral to description of archaeology in the subcontinent. Such arguments form a predominant part of this bibliography, because this cause was most vocally and consistently expressed during the past century and a quarter of interest in the past of south central Africa.

At the same time, the numbers of archaeologists in south central Africa have always been small. Scientific interest in Africa, until quite recently, was focussed on stone-based cultures associated with the ancestors of the San rather than the early farming communities ancestral to the Bantu-speaking peoples of the subcontinent. This attitude has changed during the past three decades, and Iron Age Studies has developed accordingly, although the numbers of archaeologists drawn to study the development of farming in south central Africa is still small.

The sources cited here are a personal collection drawn from three decades of interest in south central Africa, the establishment and the development of farming communities and socially mediated trading networks, which bore fruit as the monumental towns of the plateau and the

advanced chiefdoms who organized them. The source materials are not restricted in their point of view but intend to permit serious study of the information available to archaeology and the scope of the debate, knowledgeable and otherwise, on this significant aspect of traditional African culture.

Great Zimbabwe



SOUTHERN ZAMBEZIA AND ITS ENVIRONS

Introduction

King Solomon's Mines

The landscapes and people deep within southern Africa still retain an aura of isolation and savage strangeness cast by the Victorian world view and its image of foreign and unknown places. The 19th century was a time of nationalism at home and cultural crusade abroad. Europeans in the 19th century set course to map the rest of world as geographers. They charted the white spaces on their maps as explorers and described customs of other folk as ethnologists. Delving into the past, they rediscovered lost civilizations, while archaeology grew from an antiquarian pastime into a science.

The middle of the 19th century was the time of meeting for Europeans and the people of south central Africa. The politics of that meeting are the basis of history and should be discussed elsewhere. But the national aspirations of expansionist German and English nations toward the European-controlled territory of the Portuguese and the Afrikaners and the blank spaces of African-controlled land beyond forged the attitudes of Europeans in the subcontinent and their relations with traditional African polities.

As Europeans eyed the blank spaces peopled by the Shona, the Ndebele and the other folk of south central Africa, they imagined a savage wilderness, of gold and adventure, where once the Queen of Sheba had ruled and Solomon had got exotic riches to decorate his temple in Jerusalem. They dreamed of Ophir and the gold lands of the bible. The literature of 19th-century scholarship is full of the documents of the past and aspiration for the future of these wild lands on the edge of empire.

East Africa presented adventure associated with the fountains of the Nile and long caravans of bearers. In the south, the goal was Ophir, where mines exploited by ancient races beckoned. Small parties in ox carts pressed north of the Afrikaner republics into country lying beyond the Limpopo, inspired by tales of ancient ruins deep in the Shona country. When the geologist Karl

Mauch finally reached the ruins of Great Zimbabwe in 1871, it, too, became mingled in the popular mind with the other fabulous lost cities, the lure of gold and a confirmation of traditional authority. Archaeologists could walk the streets of Nineveh, measure the great pyramid of Cheops and climb the tower of Babylon. The ancient architecture and art of the Maya was recovered.

The analogy with Great Zimbabwe was imprecise but useful. Archaeology was an emergent discipline in its first flower. The storied walls of Homer's Troy and the Labyrinth of Cretan Minos would reappear under the archaeologist's restless spade. In the beginning, the ruins of Great Zimbabwe enjoyed an international fame, it would never quite repeat. And it presented another pretext for European expropriation of foreign land. As an ancient seat of a perished, but allied civilization, it would be reclaimed for the western community. The power of African romance and self-reified sense of the past overwhelmed reality and the antique places of the plateau were soon populated with comforting ghosts of the ancients.

Nineteenth-century romanticists, financiers of the Chartered Company and ensuing generations of settlers preferred an ancient Rhodesia populated with Arabs and the masters of King Solomon's Mines. They broached no association with the cultural heritage of Africans. The West had no cause to romanticize black Africa's past.

As David Randall-MacIver would argue, the reality of these central African towns was as fabulous as the fiction they inspired. Archaeology was not subtracting from their wonder but replacing one mysterious allure with another equally fantastic romance—one whose origins lay in the ancient ways of traditional African society rather than that of mysterious intruders.

The Empire of Monomatapa

In the second millennium A.D., the central African plateau, from the middle and lower Zambezi south to the Limpopo valley, was the home of remarkable societies and leaders, who stewarded the domestic production of subsistence goods and encouraged intensive production of valuable commodities in the pursuit of a rich and extensive foreign trade. For more

than 700 years, central African communities integrated their formerly small-scale economies with the far-flung Indian Ocean commerce.

Though managing a fragile agricultural base, they responded to foreign bazaars far beyond the African mainland, generating wealth through trade, developing social enterprises, whose echo was heard throughout the medieval world. The African kingdoms of the plateau interacted with the Islamic world of the northeast and in time with India and Europe through the medium of the Portuguese.

The ability to interact with foreign markets supported the rise of state-like polities in the subcontinent and the monumental towns, which housed their leaders and attracted the attention of archaeology. The flow of value from off the continent did not create the complex central African communities, but it served to re-enforce traditional social institutions and successfully mediate the emergence of the elite and underwrite the development of complex polities from a collection of subsistence economies.

It was the more complex societies and the monumental architecture which first drew attention to prehistory on the plateau, but it is in the history of the earliest farming settlements and their social organization that we find the cultural foundations for the later societies. It is my intention to plumb this aspect of the central African Iron Age as well.

In the 100 years since J. Theodore Bent excavated at Great Zimbabwe, archaeology has developed as a science. Its ability to comprehend the leavings of the past has grown as archaeologists, from generation to generation, accrue new techniques and define new interests. In parallel, perception of the African past has greatly altered, as archaeologists looked beyond the stone walls of Great Zimbabwe to value the settlements of mud-walled huts. As a result, Iron Age specialists have extended the history of the Bantu-speaking communities into the early centuries of the modern era. The development of local communities is now better understood. Formerly parochial interests are now subject to specialist scrutiny. The number of small village settlements, once overlooked, surveyed and excavated is now considerable. The literature of the central African Iron Age has grown beyond the identification of stone-built sites. Great Zimbabwe is now perceived, not as an anomaly, but as one of a number of large entrepreneurial African towns, which once regulated a large-scale trading enterprise throughout the subcontinent.

This Bibliography and Its Origins

I was first made aware of Great Zimbabwe as a medieval town in central Africa as an undergraduate in the 1950s. Later, studying the sometime-misrepresented earthen remains at Cahokia in the Mississippi valley, I read Wieschhof's impression of the stone enclosures of southern Africa and the people who had built them. At the time, it was the only readily available and up-to-date source of information. Subsequently, having moved to southern Zambia, I began my investigation of the central African Iron Age. At that time, I began to accumulate a library of off-prints and other published materials. This was the beginning of my interest in the research literature of southern Africa. In time, I ordered it into subject categories and eventually set it up as data base, permitting convenient access to a variety of materials. The present selection uses Great Zimbabwe and the complex societies of the subcontinent as its central focus, visualizing Africa south of Zaire as a vast arena of cultural interaction.

In Africa, I came to appreciate not only the sources of central African archaeology but many of the players. Since the 1950s, southern African archaeology has grown beyond the monumental sites, which so fascinated an earlier generation. Archaeology came to comprehend village lifeways as a fertile field of investigation. Much attention was devoted to the Early Iron Age and the beginning of farming economies in the subcontinent, but the development of regional cultural syntheses cast new light upon the florescent societies and their background within established lifeways. The foreign intruders had long since been repelled, now the invasions of warrior, or otherwise culturally advanced, African nations were seen as unnecessary fictions, too.

Earlier investigators in southern Africa called stone falling, stone enclosures or zimbabwes ruins. I prefer to follow a different course, justified by current research and separate zimbabwes on the plateau from the stone agricultural terracing of eastern Africa, and both of these from stone enclosures and hut foundations found south of the Limpopo. They were produced at different times by different cultures, and the classification should reflect this.

My interest in bibliography and south central Africa sometimes gets me lost in the past: reading and collecting older materials, browsing the 19th-

century and early 20th-century journals and fathoming long-dead academic debates. There is a real fascination to the roots of archaeology, to reading articles by the long dead and unremembered discoursing upon subjects and hypotheses which no longer attract our interest. Detailing the discovery of the southern African sites required delving into the brown and brittle pages of journals which have no readers now. Many of the older journals listed on an annual, monthly or weekly basis current publications in geography, ethnography or travel. These lists offered vital clues to possibly informative materials. In the midst of the long paper chases, I learned that the Royal Geographical Society had published, at one time or another, a *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, a *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, from 1857 until 1879, when it was replaced by a new series, beginning with vol. 1 of the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, replaced in turn by *Geographical Journal*, in 1891, and later by the *Geographical Magazine* not to be confused with the *Geographical Magazine* of the 1870s, or the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, for that matter.

The *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* were printed in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* but paged separately and enumerated by year of publication. The *Zeitschrift* was also published annually but with a volume number. They are bound together in libraries and shelved as the *Zeitschrift*. For this reason, I include both tides, as well as the volume number, even when referencing an article in the *Verhandlungen*. As the transcript of the Society's meetings, the *Verhandlungen* has no article tides, only a few emboldened words, introducing the note.. The other material around a note may be of interest, as I indicate from time to time. If ordering a note through Interlibrary Loan, it is a good idea to indicate which set of pages you wish: *Zeitschrift* or *Verhandlungen*.

I came to understand the late 19th-century's fascination with geography, exploration and ethnology of the various foreign people caught up in European enterprises. I discovered that some journals published weekly, finding an abundance of despatches, reports and interpretations of the non-European world to satisfy their readership. These seem never to have fully satisfied the public, even when augmented by public lectures, and many travel narratives appeared in hard covers as well. As the 19th century ended, many of the geographical journals merged or ceased to publish. In the

1870s, the German public supported a weekly diet of *Ausland*, *Globus* and *Geographischen Mittheilungen*. The Justus Perthes Anstalt, publisher of *Geographischen Mittheilungen*, also produced an annual *Geographisches Jahrbuch*, an almanac, in which summary articles survey the more important travels of the year.

Eventually, *Ausland* merged with *Globus*, which later became one with *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, the successor to *Geographischen Mittheilungen*, which was called, colloquially, *Petermanns*, long before the death of Dr. A. Petermann and the institution of his name on the journal. It halted publication before the First World War, though it was revived in the 1930s. The decade before World War I seems to mark the high point of interest in exploratory travellers.

Some learned societies published their journals for many years before attaining a royal charter. As an aid to anyone using these listings, they reflect titles printed on title pages. Where applicable, subtitles are included. When in doubt, the Union List of Serial Publications was consulted. The Librarians at the University of Alabama Library helped obtain articles, verify references, and locate sources of apparently obscure publications. As a result, everything listed here was attainable off the library shelf or through interlibrary loan. This has been a major criterion, and I have been very specific as to journal name, volume, number, date and pagination with this in mind. The Union List of Serials is the surest source of library holdings of any particular periodical.

In creating this bibliography, I began with my many exchanges with professional colleagues, and I acknowledge my appreciation to my contemporaries herein listed for their gifts of articles or other information over the years. The older journals are parsimonious in their use of references to sources. Locating published articles from faint clues was the job of the University of Alabama's Interlibrary Department. From time to time, we suffered setbacks, but it is my hope that this bibliography will save others from similar frustration. With one or two exceptions, each item was viewed by me, during preparation, anything not listed is not known to me or more likely not readily obtained.

Two large bodies of complementary literature are barely alluded to here: ethnographies and travellers' narratives. South central Africa is well served by both, and exorbitant reference to either would only divert attention from our real intentions. Much of present day cultural anthropology is

specialized, and older ethnography melds, thematically, into the travel narratives and the retailing of exotic lifeways. The 19th-century travel narrative was a highly developed and stylized art form, though even Swan, speaking in Glasgow in 1892, diminished such narratives as the descriptions of innumerable river crossings. They ought to be viewed as literary conventions before they can be evaluated as reliable sources of ethnographic observation. Attempts to relocate the crossings or villages mentioned by 19th-century travellers convinced me that many travellers were either lost or their observations confusing.

Nevertheless, the travel narrative was a prime source of 19th-century anthropology. Attempts to meld travel reports with ethnography produced omnibus works like A. Featherman, *The Social History of the Races of the World: First Division—The Nigritians*. Boston: Ticknor and Co. (1887). It is a confusing, somewhat thwarting, presentation of African lifeways, collated from travellers' observations. At the same time, it represents a staple output of 19th-century ethnography. A decade earlier, an African traveller and ethnographer, R. Hartmann, published a similar, if less opaque, volume. The roots of modern anthropology may be found here, but I have limited reference to direct observation or those germane to the history of the debate over the meaning of monumental architecture in Africa. The 19th-century traveller's narrative has a historical and biographical interest. They are not read much, anymore, and the Victorian concept of the European explorer as hero is no longer tenable, but the early days of the perception of the African past is part and parcel of the Victorian world view, which we sample here.

I most gratefully acknowledge the University of Alabama Interlibrary Loan staff who helped during preparation of this bibliography, Mss. Carole Burke, Eloise Griffin, Rosetta Royal, Deannie Rodenberry, Sissy Hughes, and Vandana Dhakar. Ms. Jovanka Ristic of the American Geographical Society Collections of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee was very helpful with some obscure 19th-century materials. I was pleased to obtain help here, since for many years David Randall-MacIver curated the collection in New York as its Chief Librarian. It introduced a satisfying symmetry to the effort.

Some Historical Sources

Much of the archaeology of south central Africa is about the early history of traditional cultures extant today. Therefore the politics of the perception of the past remains a recurrent theme in understanding various interpretations of the past. Attitudes supporting the colonial period became a filter altering the seemingly neutral process of research. As one German commentator mentions, some settlers preferred to believe that they lived in a land associated with Solomon. Some reliable political histories of south central Africa during the colonial period include the following:

1. Garm, L. H. *Central Africa: The Former British States*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1971.
Excellent history of the settler, the successor nationalist governments and the interaction with the traditional polities which preceded them.
2. Lumb, S. V. *Central and Southern Africa: A Short History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954.
An older history of the central African settler states. Pp. 10—11 treat Great Zimbabwe as an unsolved problem of Egyptian, Phoenician, Indian or Bantu affiliation.
3. Omer-Cooper, J. D, *History of Southern Africa*. Portsmouth (N.H.) and London: Heinemann; James Currey, 1987.
Excellent introduction to southern African history, emphasizes events in the Republic of South Africa but covers the establishment of the Northern and Southern Rhodesia and the subsequent political history of Zambia and Zimbabwe.
4. Tindall, P. E. N, *A History of Central Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1968.
History of the settler communities in present day Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe, and the customary comities which preceded them.
5. Walker, E. A. *A History of Southern Africa (3rd Ed.)*. London, New York and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1957.
First issued in 1928. A comprehensive older rendition of southern African history, whose first chapter recounts the European discovery of south east Africa, while somewhat reluctantly dismissing more the exotic ancient origins of the Zimbabwe sites.
6. Wills, A. J. *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa: Zambia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University

Press, 1985.

Excellent coverage of the political history of settler and recent governments, with attention to the interaction of the European powers and traditional polities in the 19th century.

Some Reports of Arab and Portuguese Contacts

This listing offers a record of external contact with south central Africa from the older Portuguese and Arab sources. In a later section, we can explore the history of southern Africa drawn from traditional sources. With two exceptions, and authors noted in annotations, these accounts use the historical documentation to some rhetorical purpose. Nineteenth-century authors, after 1872, sorted through the bible and a small number of Portuguese histories in order to find a broader context within a European world view to explain the rains of an advanced civilization in what they perceived as a savage and barbarous land.

The port cities of eastern Africa were dominated at one time or another by Arabs moving down from the Gulf or the Portuguese, who, having rounded the Cape on the sea route to India, secured bases in Mozambique. The struggles over the coastal towns extended a contest already waging in Iberia. Only now the issues of religion and politics included control of a lucrative trade with African rulers residing high upon the central plateau. At issue was the assumption of markets for goods manufactured in Portuguese-controlled India and an unimpeded right to African produce. As a result, southern Africa was never truly removed from the political and economic currents of the outer world. Trade integrated it into Indian Ocean markets and commerce for a thousand years or more.

Given that communications in the Middle Ages were far less developed than today, one hears some remarkable things about Monomatapa and the stone-walled cities of the plateau. Given the ingrained indifference of the Islamic worldview to the unconverted and the Portuguese paranoid secrecy over their maritime ventures, it is surprising that we know as much of the central African kingdoms as we do. From the 16th century onwards a number of eyewitness reports circulated: half truth and half dissimulation. They became the descriptive staple of early geographers and the analytic heart of 19th-century commentaries, to be repeated over and over in argument.

One hears that the natives declared the walled towns were built by devils, since it was beyond the power of men to do such work. That they were built at a time when the stones were soft, so that they could be shaped to the task. That Arab merchants, who had visited ancient ruins, claimed that there were gateways with inscriptions that none could read or libraries with books in an indecipherable script. That Africans claimed that the zimbabwes were built by white men, who had since gone away. That the Great King housed his wives in them. That they were the former abode of the Queen of Sheba and that the Sabe river still bore her name. That this was the Ophir of Solomon, and that Afura, the seat of Monomatapa, bore evidence in its name. Milton identified Sofala with Ophir. Selections from Dapper and Purchas are found in Webb and Maund.

Midway through the 19th century, a pseudonymous author in 1865 could seriously list the authorities locating Ophir in south central AfHca, while another anonymous author drew upon Arab and Portuguese history to identify the overgrown walls visited by Mauch, Erskine quotes the Portuguese to prove Mauch wrong about the identity of Great Zimbabwe with the ruined city of tradition. Oppert wove biblical texts, philological analyses and documentary authority into the search for Ophir.

Maund, reporting the British South Africa Company's filibustering expedition into Mashonaland, buttressed his argument by quoting documentary confirmation of the antiquity of Great Zimbabwe. His intention, in representing the Chartered Company, was to offer Mashonaland as a good investment and a healthy country of potential wealth, proven by the ancients. Amplifying on this, Rhodes underwrote the collation of Portuguese and Papal documents by Theal and Wilmot. They remain basic research tools, frequently quoted and selectively available.

Hall and Hammond Tooke, in the early years of the 20th century, selected from the Arab and Portuguese histories for arguments to reenforce their debate with Randall-Maclver. Later Kenyon explored the same histories to reconstruct the history settlement on the coast and their relationship with the interior.

Arab and Portuguese Contact

7. Burke, E. E. "Some Aspects of Arab Contact with South East Africa." *Historians in Tropical Africa*. Ed. Anonymous. Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962. 93—106.
Excellent summary of source material relating to the coast and interior of southern Africa prior to the arrival of the Portuguese.
8. Collins, R. O., editor. *Central and South African History*. New York: Markus Weiner Publishing, 1990.
Selected texts from African history in English translation. Reviews the context of the texts, which includes de Faria e Sousa's account of the kingdom of Monomatapa and Suarez' account of the conversion of Monomatapa. Both from Theal, 1898.
9. Kenyon, K. M. "Sketch of the Exploration and Settlement of the East African Coast." *The Zimbabwe Culture*. Ed. Caton-Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931. 260-74.
Summary history of the Arab settlement of the east African coast and their relations with the interior, their replacement by the Portuguese and the eventual subjection of the people of Mashonaland in the 19th century.
10. Theal, G. M. *Records of South-eastern Africa. Collected in Various Libraries and Archive Departments in Europe* (Volumes 1—9). Cape Town: Government of Cape Colony, 1898.
Important collation of documents from Portuguese archives relating to their relations with the native peoples and polities of south east Africa. The nine volumes, published between 1898 and 1903, form the basis of all subsequent historical inquiries into the indigenous polities of south central Africa in the 15th and 16th centuries. Serves the same function as the earlier translations in Carl Ritter's *Erdkunde* I. Teil, published in Berlin in 1822, in providing a universally accepted corpus of texts.
11. Webb, E. J. *Africa as Seen by Its Explorers*. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.
Compilation of extracts, including those of Dapper and Purchas on a town in the interior of Africa and Bent on Great Zimbabwe.
12. Wilinot, A. *Monomotapa (Rhodesia): Its Monuments and Its History from the Most Ancient Times to the Present Century*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896.
Illustrated discussion of Great Zimbabwe and its history. Draws upon the Portuguese and Vatican records to reconstruct the kingdom of

Monomotapa, prior to its disruption by the Bantu. Posits a foundation of Great Zimbabwe to Sabaeans, who exploited gold routes originally opened by the Phoenicians, suggesting that sometime after their departure, the site was reused by the Monomotapa. Contains a valuable collection of Vatican documents relating to early European contact with south central Africa. Reprinted New York-Negro Universities Press, 1969. Preface by H. Rider Haggard, who produced another preface along the lines of Wilmot's thesis, to his *Elissa* (1898), a novel set in the ancient city of Zimboe.

The Ophir Question

A Compilation of Traditional Sources

13. Bibliothecar Chetham, "Ophir and Tarshish." *Notes and Queries* 3rd Series, vol. 8 (8 July 1865): 25—26; 142—143.
Inventories traditional authorities on locating Ophir. Section 3 offers a site in Angola, and a fifth section locates others in south east Africa.

Some Argument Based on Historical Authority

Each of the following attempts to justify the south central African plateau as the biblical Ophir by the authority of historical or biblical accounts.

14. Anonymous. "Karl Mauchs Entdeckungen in Südlichen Afrika." *Das Ausland* 45.23 (1872): 532-537.
Abstracts sources on monumental construction in the interior of southern Africa, including dos Santos, de Barros, Edrisi and Battel. Identifies Great Zimbabwe with these texts and the question of locating the biblical Ophir. Summarizes some current opinion on locating Ophir in southern Africa.
15. Hall, R. N. "The Prehistoric Gold Mines of Rhodesia (Part I)." *African Monthly* 1.5 (1907): 519-42.
The Portuguese period, 1505-1760. Survey of the historical sources in

Theal (1898) and archaeology responding to conclusions favoring medieval dating for Great Zimbabwe by Randall-Maclver. Premise of the article is "when was the gold extracted?", decides "not between 1000 A.D. and 1700."

16. Hail, R, N. "The Prehistoric Gold Mines of Rhodesia (Part II)." *African Monthly* 1.6 (1907): 647-67.

A further response to Randall-Maclver, using sources from the Arab and Persian period, 900 to 1505. This and the preceding article may have been reprinted as pamphlets at Grahamstown in 1907.

17. Hammond Tooke, W. "The Bantu in the Tenth Century as Extracted from the 'Golden Meadows' of Al Mas'udi." *African Monthly* 1-5 (1907): 13-24; 138-150; 274-287; 404-414; 562-573.

Series of articles collating references in the writings of the Arab geographer Mas'udi to the people and history of south central Africa, with a running commentary. Translated from the French version of *Les Prairies d'Or*, texte et traduction par C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, published in 9 volumes, in Paris, between 1861 and 1877 by the Societe Asiatique. Since 1989, selections from this text are available in 3 volumes, translated into English by P. Lunde and C. Stone and published in London and New York by Kegan Paul International.

Hammond Tooke surveys classical and medieval Arabic sources as well as some contemporary egyptology for information descriptive of classical antiquity's knowledge of southeastern Africa and its people. Draws the conclusion that although the lack of a mention of "ruins" in Ma'sudi may be construed to support Randall-Maclver's hypothesis, it is more probable that the "ruins" were of such antiquity that they were forgotten and therefore not mentioned by Ma'sudi's informants.

18. Oppert, G. "Tharshish und Ophir." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. 35 (1903): 50-72; 212-265.

An extensive detailed philological, historical and archaeological study of the evidence and arguments for locating the historic sites of the biblical trading ports of Tharshish and Ophir. An excellent and interesting example of the research orientation and methodology of its period. Presents a historical survey of trading relations with the east coast of Africa from pre-classic times until the period of Portuguese contact. Pp. 257 ff quotes extensively from de Barros and dos Santos on the people of the plateau and the Portuguese perception of the

zimbabwes. Pp. 263—266 offers current speculations about eastern Africa and the biblical gold lands, as well as the relevance of the gold fields in Zambezia, their exploitation through time and Great Zimbabwe to the Ophir problem.

Bibliographies

The number of bibliographies devoted to southern African archaeology is presently very limited. Although there has been keen academic and lay interest in the archaeology of the monumental architecture of southern Africa over the past century and a half, the organization of the scattered published results of that interest has only just begun. A review of the present bibliographies is of some interest though, historically and as additional sources of information.

Writers of the 19th century were very casual in their use of cited references. Internal notice of sources were often of the most general kind, assuming some knowledge of individuals and a continuity of interest on the part of reader to the past proceedings of some learned organization, its membership and publications. The earliest citations are often little more than the fact that someone presented something of interest some time in the past. These can be found out through arduous search of the published record and much turning of pages and the kind of paper chase which gives rise to a comprehensive bibliography such as this. The earliest authentic bibliography in English is the one Randall-MacIver attached to the Zimbabwe article in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. He references his recent publications and suggests that the writings of Mauch, Bent and Hall are no longer useful though they may have some bibliographic interest. More formal, though, is the one appended to Poch's discussion of Great Zimbabwe. He offers a range of germane references in English and German. Except that he cites articles in the *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* by the year presented rather than the year published, this is a most useful overview of the relevant literature as of that date.

The canon was established by Caton-Thompson in 1931 in her report on Zimbabwe culture. Hers is an excellent set of references. Not as comprehensive of the peripheral archaeology as Pösch's, it set the basic framework for the subsequent academic debate, forming a core of sources to which later research has added. The excellent bibliographies with the syntheses of Garlake and M. Hall supplement this outstanding base and include recent research at Great Zimbabwe and southern Africa generally. For a contemporary view of the relevant ethnographic and related literature,

I can only suggest lists appended to Huffman's excellent melding of the archaeological and cultural genres.

A fine annotated source of early accounts of travel, observations and research in southern Africa may be found in Mendelssohn's catalog of his library. A more restricted sampling of archaeological literature for Zimbabwe was made by Cooke, Summers and Robinson in their notes re-organizing the cultural terminology and archaeological sequences. These lists spread their nets over the whole spectrum of prehistoric studies. Summers produced a selected bibliography as part of his historical survey of archaeology in Zimbabwe, though a later one by Cooke is much more expansive and very comprehensive.

Earlier, Phillipson surveyed the archaeological literature from Zambia in first-class fashion. His work, like Cooke's, extended its mandate to cover all parts of the prehistoric sequence. It was later brought up to date by Derricourt. Between these three, one has an excellent opportunity to scan the long history and wide range of interests manifest in the archaeology of south central Africa.

Cooke's bibliography is extended by that of Pollack and Pollack, who are less restricted in their subject matter and therefore survey a much broader topical range. It is very comprehensive in its coverage and a necessity to anyone searching for travellers' accounts and ethnographic sources, no matter how obscure.

Elsewhere, there are specialized bibliographies for Natal by Stabbins and Botswana by Hitchcock and Smith which examine the archaeological literature in commendable and detailed fashion.

Otherwise, the bibliographies available for countries in Africa south of Zaire are more selective in their range though broader in their coverage. The volumes compiled by Azevedo, Bobb, Crosby, Grotper, Morton, Rau, Rasmussen and Rubert (1990) and Saunders will acquaint the reader with a range of substantive general and specialized materials beyond archaeology.

Comprehensive Research Bibliographies

19. Caton-Thompson, G. *Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931.
Illustrated systematic excavation at Great Zimbabwe, other sites in northeast Zimbabwe and Dhlo-Dhlo in Matabeleland. Drawings, maps and photographs. Pottery related to the Early Iron Age and a variety of architectural details. Re-affirms the conclusions of Randall-MacIver with respect to the African origin of the buildings. In the 1971 edition, published by Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., London, she surveys more recent research. Excellent list of references from previous archaeological research and historical and ethnographic sources.
20. Garlake, P. S. *Great Zimbabwe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.
Authoritative and detailed compilation of historical and archaeological information about Great Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwean system. Substantiative history of archaeological field investigations and a critical review of the interpretation of the zimbabwes and their history. Essential guide to understanding the significance of Great Zimbabwe to the development of archaeology in southern Africa. Illustrated with photographs of the sites and artifacts associated with them. Duplicates many historic photographs, plans and sketches. Contains a comprehensive bibliography of sources on the archaeology at Great Zimbabwe.
21. Hall, M. L. *Farmers, Kings and Traders: The People of Southern Africa 200-1860*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
Originally published as *The Changing Past: Farmers, Kings and Traders in Southern Africa, 200-1860* (1987), Claremont, South Africa: David Phillip, Publisher Ltd. An authoritative and comprehensive survey and analysis from various archaeological, historical and ethnographic sources of the Iron Age of South Africa and the Zimbabwean plateau. Well illustrated and documented introduction to the archaeological information and problems addressed in southern African Iron Age studies.
22. Pösch, R. "Zur Simbábye-Frage." *Mitteilungen der königl.-kaiserl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 53 (1911): 432—51.
Extended analysis of interpretations about Great Zimbabwe and the other stone enclosures in south central Africa. From published work and field investigation. Concludes, amongst others, that the early investigators were wrong to suppose a group of builders from outside of

Africa; that the various attempts to use their measurements to set the buildings into a general scheme used by ancient builders were ill conceived; that the professed ancient inscriptions were all forgeries; that architectural modes displayed in the construction fall within the cultural repertoire of native African people: and that such foreign influences from elsewhere that have been discerned may be attributable to diffusion from northern Africa rather than sea-borne traffic. Nor does he see a need to posit foreign mining communities, since the old mines he examined seemed to have worked by the methods similar to those currently in use by Africans. Finally he suggests a multidisciplinary approach to define the history of the zimbabwes. Uses a variety of published material, which form a very comprehensive bibliography.

Specialist and Regional Bibliographies

South Africa

23. Mendelssohn, S. *Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography*. London: The Holland Press, 1958.
Indispensable two-volume annotated catalogue of the Mendelssohn collection of articles and books on science, travel and traditional life in southern Africa. Contains references not found in any other inventory.
24. Saunders, C. C. *Historical Dictionary of South Africa*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1990.
Compendium of history, people, ethnography and archaeology. Short topical bibliographies.
25. Stabbins, P. "Bibliography of Archaeology in Natal: 1871—1980." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 25 (1982): 143—72.
Comprehensive annotated and indexed bibliography covering articles and books dealing with the archaeology of Natal.

Zimbabwe

26. Cooke, C. K. "A Bibliography of Rhodesian Archaeology from 1874." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 6.38 (1974): 1-56.
Comprehensive inventory of archaeologically related materials, indexed by Stone Age industry or Iron Age tradition. The most comprehensive inventory of sources on all phases of archaeology in Zimbabwe.
27. Cooke, C. K., R. Summers, and K. R. Robinson. "Rhodesian Prehistory Re-examined II: The Iron Age." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 2.17 (1966): 1-11.
Summary classification of the Iron Age entities of Zimbabwe.
Comprehensive, though selected, index of references to published resources, indexed by archaeological period or culture.
28. Pollack, O.B., and K. Pollack. *Rhodesia/Zimbabwe: An International Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1977.
Excellent indispensable coverage of a variety of published materials on south central Africa. The most comprehensive inventory of published sources available.
29. Rasnussen, R.K., and S. C. Rubert. *Historical Dictionary of Zimbabwe (2nd Edition)*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1990.
Compendium of names, history, ethnography and archaeology. Brief topical bibliographies.

[Zambia](#)

30. Derricourt, R. M. *A Supplementary Bibliography of the Archaeology of Zambia 1967—1973*. Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1975.
Continues inventory, format and indices of Phillipson 1967.
Alphabetically arranged listing of all publications on Zambian archaeology since Phillipson's, indexed by culture or period.
31. Grotzinger, J. J. *Historical Dictionary of Zambia*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1979.
Compendium of names, history, people, places, ethnography and archaeology. Short topical bibliographies.
32. Phillipson, D. W. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Archaeology of Zambia*. Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1967.
Comprehensive inventory of archaeological reports indexed by period, subject and site. Splendid guide to the older archaeological resources of Zambia. Continued by Derricourt in 1975, above.

33. Rau, W. E. *A Bibliography of Pre-independence Zambia: The Social Sciences*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1978.
Comprehensive topically arranged bibliography.

[Botswana](#)

34. Hitchcock, R. K., and M. R. Smith. "Settlement in Botswana: A Bibliography." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 381-401.
Comprehensive topical bibliography inventories the available material from archaeological studies in Botswana.
35. Morton, F. *Historical Dictionary of Botswana*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1989.
Compendium of the history, people, events, ethnography and archaeology. Short topical bibliographies.

[Southern Africa, Generally](#)

36. Summers, R. F. H. "Archaeology in Southern Africa 1869-1970: Bibliographic Notes." *South African Museums Association Bulletin* 10 (1971): 20-28.
Selective summary of published resources on the archaeology of the subcontinent.

[Malawi](#)

37. Crosby, C. A. *Historical Dictionary of Malawi*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1980.
Compendium of history, people and events, brief characterizations of the traditional cultures and archaeology. Brief topical bibliographies.

Mozambique

38. Azevedo, M. J. *Historical Dictionary of Mozambique*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1991.
Compendium of history, people, places, ethnography and archaeology with brief topical bibliographies.

Zaire

39. Bobb, F. S. *Historical Dictionary of Zaire*. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1988.
Compendium of names, historical events, people, summaries of traditional cultures and archaeology. Brief topical bibliographies.

Guide Books and Travellers' Accounts

Karl Mauch first visited Great Zimbabwe in 1871, and Holub, an unnamed stone enclosure on the Shashi river in Matabeleland in the late 1870s. For the next two decades, we have only four stories of attempted visits to Great Zimbabwe. George Phillips accompanied Mauch on one of his trips, and two expeditions, one English and the other German, failed tragically. A fourth journey, by the Posselt brothers, succeeded, when one of them, Willi, reached Great Zimbabwe, where he found carved stone bird figures set into the wall of the Great Enclosure. He brought one back as a souvenir of his adventure. Journeys into Mashonaland were not easy. One of the Posselts distracted the Ndebele while his brother slipped into Great Zimbabwe. The interior was fraught with peril, following expansion of the Zulu kingdom, movement of the Afrikaners north under British pressure, and the conflicting tensions between the Portuguese, Germans and British. Europeans entered Ndebele-controlled lands only with permission of the Ndebele chief, Mzilikazi. One went to Great Zimbabwe only with the permission of a local chief. In 1890, an armed expedition of the British South Africa Company took Mashonaland, in the course of which they made an excursion to Great Zimbabwe.

What in 1890 could only be reached by an army, the following year was the scene of an archaeological dig. Prior to the Company's incursion Maund and Mandy were already extolling the commercial advantages of the country. Within three years, the first visitors came. By mid-decade, the first travel writers arrived offering helpful hints and insight on travel in Mashonaland. Railroads were laid, hotels built and guide books prepared. The Edwardian traveller was cared for by representatives of Chartered Company and offered apt assessments of the significance of the ruins, justifying the journey.

Great Zimbabwe was regarded as an attraction from the very first. Maund, in his report on the Chartered Company's excursion into Mashonaland, cited monumental ruins as cause for belief in the potential wealth of the territory. Soon thereafter the Zimbabwe sites were parcelled out as rewards to members of the Company's armed force and *The Ancient Ruins Company* underwritten to plumb for treasure. Following the demise

of that dubious enterprise, ruins were protected and heralded as a tourist attraction. The company had wished to attract investment and settled for tourist income. As a result, Rhodes encouraged study of the ruins and elaboration of their age and exotic origins.

The monumental nature of Great Zimbabwe and the other stonewalled sites did encourage visitors. Newspaper and magazine accounts informed the stay-at-homes of the perils of the journey and the impressive experiences to be gained. The impressions of these travellers were, in turn, formed by a succession of guidebooks, meant to impart significance to archaeology, translating scholarly debate into established orthodoxy.

These travellers' accounts transmit a sense of place, portraying Great Zimbabwe in an awed voice. Another traveller, Beuster, completed a journey begun by Merensky 30 years earlier, with a copy of Merensky's memoirs in his pocket. He takes a keepsake of a piece of wood pulled out of one of the passages. A soldier of fortune, Burnham, tells of his search for gold among mysterious ruins. The Germans, Pösch and von Luschan, and the Italian traveller, d'Albertis, are experienced observers, with a professional interest in accurate description and up-to-date interpretation. They set straight the myth of ancient Semitic miners, for a clear sure vision derived from Randall-MacIver. Caton-Thompson combines description of her research with personal anecdote and impressions of the place.

The writers Manheimer and Bryce describe the sights and conveniences of travelling in southern Africa a century ago. Lyttleton, Stokes, Wiltshire Harmer and Beatty present the impressions of tourists from different eras. These are vivid letters home proclaiming a mysterious presence in the deserted passages. They are not uninvolved observers; they describe the site, its surroundings with an immediacy. Black and Haws, on the other hand, write guides to a European country, which just happens to be in Africa, in the midst of changing world attitudes.

Guides and handbooks to archaeology in central Africa were produced by the railroads, publicity ministries and hotels. Listed here are some written by archaeologists, who at one time or another studied the sites and digested their ideas into lay terms for the visitor. They offer judgements published in other media, muting debate in popular cadences. Included are guides by Hall and Mennell from the early 20th century, with latter 19th century opinions, although Mennell is more amenable to the suggestion of indigenous origins. Wallace's guide is done by a writer digesting the ideas

of others, while Jones and Summers are archaeologists, whose research significantly shaped current ideas of the value of Great Zimbabwe.

Guides were produced for other major localities as well: Inyanga by Garlake, Khami by Hall, Robinson and Cooke, the northern Transvaal by Voight and the Victoria Falls Region most recently by Phillipson. Clark wrote an earlier guide to some Zambian sites for use during the 3rd Panafrican Conference (Clark, 1955).

[Guides to the Archaeology](#)

[South Africa](#)

40. Voight, E. A., editor. *Guide to Archaeological Sites in the Transvaal*. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum, 1981.
Collection of illustrated specialist papers, descriptive of the history of the archaeology, archaeological sequence and significance of the sites.

[Zambia](#)

41. Clark, J. D. *Excursion Handbook: Northern Rhodesia*. Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1955.
Summary of the prehistory of Zambia, emphasizing the Stone Age cultures, and descriptions of archaeological localities, prepared for delegates to the third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory in 1955.
Summary of the Iron Age on pp. 8—9.
42. Phillipson, D. W., editor. *Mosi-oa-Tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region, 2nd Edition*. Harare: Longman Zimbabwe, 1990.
Newest edition of a classic guide. Specialist essays intended for visitors to the Victoria Falls and its environs. Originally edited by Clark in the 1950s, Fagan in the 1960s and Phillipson in the 1970s, successive editions illustrate increasing interest in Iron Age studies from a footnote in earliest edition to essays in later ones: Fagan, reporting on his

research in the Kalomo-Choma area, and Vogel, on investigations in the Victoria Falls Region.

Zimbabwe

Bulawayo Area

43. Cooke, C. K. *A Guide to the Khami, Naletale and Dhlo-Dhlo Ruins and Other Antiquities Near Bulawayo*. Bulawayo: Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1965. Illustrated guide explaining the layout, history and archaeology of three sites in the Bulawayo area, which were once capitals of the Rozwe confederacy.
44. Hall, R. N. *Illustrated Guide to the Prehistoric Khami Ruins near Bulawayo, Rhodesia*. Bulawayo: Phillpott and Collins, 1910. Illustrated informational and interpretative guidebook.
45. Robinson, K. R. *Guide to the Khami Ruins*. Bulawayo: Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1953. Guide to the archaeology and history of the Khami site.

Inyanga Area

46. Garlake P. S. *A Guide to the Antiquities of Inyanga*. Bulawayo: Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1967. Illustrated informational guide to the Inyanga area in eastern Zimbabwe, explaining the history and archaeology of the agricultural terracing.

Great Zimbabwe

47. Hall, R. N. *Visitor's Guide to the Great Zimbabwe Ruins: Mashonaland, Rhodesia, South Africa*. Cape Town: Central News Agency, Ltd., 1907.

- Illustrated guide to the ruins and introduction to Hall's interpretation of Great Zimbabwe, its features, history and cultural significance.
48. Jones, N. *Guide to the Zimbabwe Ruins*. Salisbury: Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1951.
Illustrated informational visitors guide to Great Zimbabwe, revises many of the early opinions about the site.
 49. Mennell, F. P. *The Zimbabwe Ruins. Rhodesia Museum Special Report*. Bulawayo: Argus Printing and Publishing Company, 1903.
Illustrated description of Great Zimbabwe and the results of recent archaeology there. Suggests dating Great Zimbabwe to at least the beginning of the Christian era. Describes the results of Bent's and Hall's recent excavations and disputes Swan's system of orientation. Argues against an origin of the zimbabwes as Phoenician or Sabaean settlements but leaves open the question of builders' identity. Suggests the possibility of an indigenous race of builders, though it is obvious from the context he does not believe these to be associated with resident Africans. Recounts African traditions of the sites having always been there.
 50. Summers, R. F. H. *Guide to the Zimbabwe Ruins*. Bulawayo: Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1964.
Illustrated informational guide to Great Zimbabwe.
 51. Wallace, C. A. *The Great Zimbabwe Ruins, Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia*. London: Hazell, Watson and Viney, 1934.
Illustrated description of Great Zimbabwe intended for visitors to the site.

Travellers' Guidebooks

52. Black, C. *The Lands and Peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*. London and New York: Adam and Charles Black; The Macmillan Company, 1954.
Illustrated introduction to the life, features and scenery of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Great Zimbabwe on pp. 59-64 in a section entitled "The Riddle of the Ruins."

53. Haws, R. C. *Rhodesia: The Jewel of Africa*. Salisbury, Rhodesia: Flame Lily Books, 1966.
Illustrated commentary on the past and present of Rhodesia, issued as publicity and information for travellers and settlers. The country's natural and historical wonders. Presents Great Zimbabwe as a still-unsolved mystery.
54. Paver, B. G. *Zimbabwe Cavalcade: Rhodesia's Romance*. Johannesburg: Central News Agency, 1950.
Popular survey of the natural and historical features of Rhodesia. Great Zimbabwe and its exotic history explained to a popular audience.

Travellers to Great Zimbabwe

Late 19th Century

55.
Beuster, C. "Die Ruinen von Zimbabwe in Mashona-Land." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologic. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologic, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 25 (1893): 289-93.
Six-hour visit to Great Zimbabwe on 22 August 1892. Describes the condition of the Great Enclosure and still-closed passages in the Hill Ruin. Disputes Mauch's description of entrances into the Great Enclosure. Collects wood samples from the Hill Ruin. Speculates on associations with biblical Ophir and finds a Semitic character to the cultural practice of some local people.
56. Bryce, J. *Impressions of South Africa*. New York: The Century Company, 1898.
Southern African travel in 1895. Visits various stone enclosures. Pp. 68-81 describes Great Zimbabwe and speculates about its origins.
57. Burnham, F.R. *Scouting on Two Continents*. Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1926.
Autobiography of an American adventurer in the colonial wars of the late 19th century and a member of the Rhodesian column, which entered Mashonaland in 1890. Written in the *Boy's Own* hardy style

affected by many such narratives. Visits important sites and reflects attitudes of earliest investigators. Pp. 210—211 describes Dhlo-Dhlo. Pp. 122—123 describes the panning of gold near Great Zimbabwe, and pp. 216 the finding of gold ornaments found at Dhlo-Dhlo. Impression of early prospectors as ones who saw the zimbabwes as a gold source.

58. Holub, E. "On the Central South African Tribes from the South Coast to the Zambesi." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 10 (1880): 2-20.

Czech explorer's travels in south central Africa. Ethnographic notes and a description of visits to unnamed zimbabwes on his route in Matabeleland between the Limpopo and the Zambezi rivers. Suggests that these zimbabwes constructed by some "extinct race" with mention of modern African dwellings built on some of the older stone structures. A sketch depicts the joining of the stones. In another account of his journeys made to the Royal Geographical Society in January 1880, reference is made to visiting "the ruins of Monomatapa" in the Harts River valley, which he calls "a freak of nature."

59. Manheimer, E. *Le Nouveau Monde Sud-Africain: La Vie Au Transvaal* Paris: Ernest Flammarion, editeur, 1896.

The principal routes and conditions of travel in southern Africa in the '90s. Pp. 291-292 contain a description of the route from Tuli to Harare, with a description of Great Zimbabwe and its relationship to Ophir.

[Early to Mid-20th Century](#)

[Research Oriented](#)

The distinction made here is between descriptions of travel to Great Zimbabwe and impressions gained during the visit and those to whom the visit was incidental to reaching conclusions about the site, without necessarily engaging in field research there. The piece by Caton-Thompson describes life on a central African dig of the period.

60. Anonymous. "Dr. Pösch's Expedition in South Africa." *The Geographical Journal* 34 (1909): 66—69.

Account of letters sent to Vienna by Pösch during from southern Africa,

his views on Great Zimbabwe, agreement with Randall-MacIver, and observations on indigenous architecture in stone in Africa. Pöch's San collections in Morris, A. G., *South African Archaeological Bulletin* (1987) 42, p. 25.

61. Caton-Thompson, G. "Mysterious Great Zimbabwe." *Asia: Journal of the American Asiatic Association* 31 (1931): 390-396; 402-405.

Comprehensive illustrated personal account of research, impressions and interpretations of the Maund ruins at Great Zimbabwe. Anecdotes about life, field work and field crews in Zimbabwe.

62. Pöch, R. "Zweiter Bericht über eine Reise in Britisch-Südafrika." *Mitteilungen der königl.-kaiserl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 52 (1909): 195-97.

Brief letter accounting the latter portion of Pöch's journeys in southern Africa. Second section mentions sojourn in Mashonaland and a visit to Great Zimbabwe, impressions of Great Zimbabwe and museum collections.

63. von Luschan, F. "Bericht über eine Reise in Südafrika." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 38 (1906): 863—95.

Illustrated trip through southern Africa as a guest of the British Association for their 1905 meetings. Describes conference activities and field trips. Besides matters interesting to natural historians and ethnologists, there is a section on Stone Age materials and another, pp. 872—891, on the archaeology of Great Zimbabwe. Impressed by the consistency of the African nature of the pottery, attests this as evidence of African origin of the buildings. Affirms conclusions of Randall-MacIver, draws attention to Hartmann's association in the 1870s of the architecture and construction to native African practice. Discounts purported inscribed stones as African game boards. Posits that a carved wooden bowl is typically African and discounts Bent's reading of it as a zodiac. With Schafer, he condemns Peters' Egyptian figurine as a hoax and observes that many adherents of a "Phoenician" hypothesis live in Rhodesia and seem to gain satisfaction from working the mines of King Solomon.

64. Beatty, G. C. "Zimbabwe." *Jeune Africa: cahier de l'union africaine des arts et des lettres* 26 (1958): 13—17.
Illustrated popular commentary on the history and significance of Great Zimbabwe, composed while on a visit.
65. D'Albertis E. "Una Gita alle Rovine di Zimbábui." *Bolletirto della Societa Geografica Italiana* 9 (1908): 1251—83.
Well-illustrated travels in south central Africa. Observations on African folkways and description of Great Zimbabwe. Photographs and plan of Great Enclosure.
66. Lytdeon, F. "A Trip to the Zimbabwe Ruins." *The National Review* 55 (1910): 653-58.
Chatty description of travel to Great Zimbabwe, the tourist attractions and the romance of Great Zimbabwe.
67. Stokes, C, S. "The Golden Citadel of a Vanished Race: The Grandeur of Ancient Zimbabwe Where Millions in Gold Were Mined Centuries Ago. The Possible Site of Solomon's Ophir." *Travel* 52.5 (March 1929): 38-39; 42.
Illustrated description of a visit to Great Zimbabwe, the sights and conflicting theories of its origins.
68. Waugh, E. *A Tourist in Africa*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1960.
Travel in East Africa, in 1959. Stopover at Great Zimbabwe on March 18 and critical opinion of the official view of its origins as the product of an ancient, non-Bantu people.
69. Wiltshire Harmer, H. R. "A Visit to Zimbabwe." *United Empire* 18 (1927): 553-56.
The Fort Victoria area, the sights and conditions at Great Zimbabwe in the 1920s.

A General History of Great Zimbabwe

Disorder in Mashonaland

The first Europeans entering south central Africa in the mid-19th century found what they described as disorder. The Ndebele exerted a strong influence in the west, raiding freely. Other political entities seemed small and weak. Europeans attributed this political disarray to the savage nature of native people, incapable of enlightened cultures. In fact, a high degree of political order had prevailed earlier, and a fine political sense still operated at the local level. The political organization of the traditional agricultural community had been finely tuned during the past 1700 years. But at the time of meeting between African polities and emergent colonial empire in Africa in the 19th century, the customary communities were in a state of disorder.

During the 1820s and the rise of the Zulu kingdom, under Dingiswayo and Shaka, southern Africa was cast into chaos. Many of the old confederations disappeared and many people were displaced in the forced migration, or *difiqane*, which was to forever change the folk cultures and politics of southern Africa. One who fled the wrath of Shaka was Zwangendaba, the military leader of a minor Nguni clan, who marched northwards out of Natal, gathering an army as he went. He stormed Great Zimbabwe in 1834, setting the town on fire, killing the last Rozwi ruler there. He would later found his own chiefdom north of the Zambezi, far from Shaka, but only after inspiring a faltering army to ford the Zambezi, following the drowning of several oxen, after dramatically calling down a total solar eclipse on November 19, 1835.

But this state of disarray appears to have been the exception. For most of the preceding 2000 years, the plateau was the stage for the transhumance cycles of cattle-ranging people, the clearance of forest plots by swidden farmers and the organization of trading networks, which brought exotic imports onto the plateau. The so-called ancient ruins found by European

explorers were remnants of the capitols of powerful African chiefs, who until recently underwrote development of strong social alliances and stable economies upon a fragile base of low-cost small scale agriculture.

Agricultural Beginnings

More than four millennia ago, technologies for the production and processing of native food plants in sub-Saharan Africa emerged in discontinuous array along a broad patch of the northern savanna. While some areas, the Nile valley and north Africa, for example, were influenced by the developing food-producing economies of south west Asia, people in sub-Saharan Africa seem to have engaged in a series of local experiments, concentrating on the food plants they already gathered, whose character they already understood. The results were a varied mosaic of indigenous experiments in agriculture and communities increasingly dependent on food production. The path to food-producing economies required mapping new social ground as well as new economics and technologies.

The emergence of practicable agricultural regimens in sub-Saharan Africa required more than an increased ability to master and manipulate endemic food resources or create novelties in production or processing tools. Novel food-getting designs imply new energy bases and a differently conceived labor effort then heretofore. As a result, the maturing agricultural regimens made unique demands on the structure of societies as well as the organization of well-defined ecological systems.

At this time, socially defined age and sex roles were modified, sedentary settlement patterns appeared, population densities increased and notions of land tenure were perpetuated. All these, suggest change stressful to the customary capacities or activities in hunter-gatherer or intensive forager societies. The lifeways of foragers are intensely complex and evolved over thousands of years. Much of their life, society and beliefs is bound into their subsistence behavior. Specialized ecological knowledge, technology, ideology and social organization are essential to their food quest and survival. The development of food production was neither automatic, natural nor always a good thing.

When archaeologists talk of ecosystems, they imply a set of relationships by which people integrate themselves into landscapes. Humans exploit ecological niches, which they help create through technology and social organization. As a result of the development of food-producing economies, new social structures, managing production and overseeing the dispersal of produce or necessities, were commissioned. New social roles developed, attuned to beliefs rationalizing the emergent ecosystem and the mutual responsibilities and relationships of people enmeshed in it. Emergent food-producing societies trod tortuous courses, reconciling old habits, while assimilating the new. At each step, innovation to their lifeway imposed conditions shaping the direction of future change. After awhile, these changes, social as well as technical, were in place. Feasible food-producing ecosystems were established, here and there, across the Sahel and northern savanna.

Eventually, cereal production was brought to the south; cereals were sufficiently drought resistant to do well, but poor soil conditions in the subcontinent required swiddening. The requirements of the shifting slash and burn practice granted an adequate yield but produced thinly populated regions, an unsure political pattern and meager opportunity to escalate production. These are not the usual precursors to maturing social complexity.

Social Strategies of Savanna Farmers

Pioneer slash-and-burn farmers settled on the plateau during the early centuries of the modern era. What we call the Early Iron Age was precipitated by communities of small-scale farmers, spreading onto the plateau in search of arable land. Their settlements were the nucleus of forest openings created by their gardens. The pioneer communities quickly transformed the landscape into a patchwork of productive swiddens in virgin soil and spent clearings, where worked out fields regenerated under secondary growth. That is not to say that they uniformly carpeted the savanna with villages. In their search for a narrow range of soils, vegetation, water, minerals and other related needs, they separated

themselves onto small tracts of land. Settled areas were detached from neighboring occupied zones, often some distance away.

The land-use pattern of the earliest farmers included farming one set of fields for awhile, followed by a move onto new soils elsewhere. They exhausted the soils from place to place and quickly extended the range of settled area without extending the real size of the farming population. The thin populations and scattered villages limited opportunity for the growth of extensive and lasting political institutions. One legacy of slash-and-burn regimens is relatively small populations, and weak customary political entities in south central Africa.

Slash-and-burn cultivation permitted settlement of the plateau though, and in time farmers, achieved more dependable long fallow field use, enabling more stable residence patterns. Populations remained small and political institutions were constrained, achieving a stable lifeway, exploiting not only natural resources, of soil and forest but interesting social strategies. As a result, distant communities were woven into webs of social ecological relationships designed to mediate risk and transfer goods from one place to another.

The Politics of Cattle Ownership

The conventional mechanism, in society, joining people into networks of mutual obligation is family. Webs of interaction and responsibility are readily expressed within easily defined nuclear and extended relationships. In much of southern Africa, family is formulated through the female line, whereby access to the mediation of society is achieved through claims upon maternal relatives. The senior stewards of each matriline organize the social life of those allied to them. The matrilineal gain coherence as land-holding corporations, and the stewards gain authority from the right to distribute land. Lineages hold title from the ancestors, who once cleared the land, he buried in it and retain an active interest in the fortunes of their lineage mates, sanctioning rights to land use, exacting reciprocal obligations to corporate responsibility. A web of obligations bonds family members.

The ancestor cults of southern Africa perform valued service, legitimating and regulating authority as well as tide. The corps of dead

ancestors holds title to land and obligates their living descendants to compensation for rights to cultivate it. Individuals till the garden plots and claim the product of their effort, but resources, in general, such as game and fowl or minerals, are sequestered assets, dispensed as benefits by the chief lineage stewards. The balance between obligation and benefit is central to political life and leadership valued for an ability to distribute benefits to its clients.

Broader social networks form through marriages and related compensatory benefits. The negotiation of bridewealth creates bonds between families as well as compensation for labor transferred from one group to another. Marriage is more than individuals creating a new nuclear unit. It is a contractual arrangement between extended families. The value of the contract expresses itself in access to production or labor in time of need. The web of extended family units mediates environmental risk by extending production throughout a broad area.

These social networks resolve all aspects of customary politics. Decisions are made and ratified through a hierarchy of customary stewards. Alliances, sanctioned by birth or marriage, are self-regulating, decision-making entities, and each kind of alliance participated in the development of complex society in south central Africa. Alliances intended to minimize risk and redistribute value were aptly suited to new roles in entrepreneurial trade. Fueled by inflows of imported goods, domestic stewards enhanced personal and corporate status through participation in a beneficial flow of value.

Long-distance exchange of commodities from one place to another was well founded in early Iron Age settlements. Trade brought copper and other locally unavailable goods to isolated agricultural communities. It was a low-cost enterprise, easily underwritten by customary stewards from domestic sources. On the other hand, gaining access to Indian Ocean commerce demanded new unprecedented levels of subsidy. Traditional farms were subsidized by manual labor and social covenant. The thin pallid soils of southern Africa do not bear up under intensified production needed to create abundant surpluses, devoted to chartering exchange. Other means of subsidizing trade were possible though.

In southern Africa, only cattle ranging permits a necessary measure of intensification and a collateral means to express wealth. Owners of cattle participate in prestige-producing exchanges with one another. They loan

one another cattle, negotiating contracts between themselves, forging a third kind of political alliance, intertwined with those erected from blood and marriage. The elements of an emergent elite were in place: an established custom of socially mediated flows of value, custodianship of strategic resources by customary stewards, and the accumulation of wealth necessary to underwriting a flourishing long-distance trade.

In the past, far-flung social webs woven from the self-interest of cattle-owning men allowed emergent entrepreneurs to subsidize production, of ivory and minerals, for exchanges linked to Arab trading towns on the coast. Hierarchies of cattle-owning men, sanctioned by custom, rose to the fore, underwriting exchanges, administering society, mediating benefit. Institutions associated with cattle ownership came to identify the political life of the subcontinent.

Towns Develop in the Limpopo Valley

The socially driven transformation of subsistence farmers to more complex economies is identified with large trading towns of powerful entrepreneurs, who form ruling elites at places like Khami and Great Zimbabwe or the divine kingdom of the Rozwi Mambo Mwene Mutapa, and rightly so. The Portuguese never knew Great Zimbabwe: in the 16th century, it was overshadowed by Zambezi valley rivals and the growth of Khami and its powerful confederation in the west.

Nonetheless, the Portuguese describe a world of divine rulers living on fortified hilltops, and these still remain the images we associate with the chiefly rulers of the southern savanna. The regal figures were not the stuff of Rider Haggard but a feudal world of powerful chieftains, commanding homage and tribute, communicating with the spirits of their ancestors from courts high atop granite kopjes faced with cut stone. They created wealth and allied themselves with powerful families through multiple marriages. They led some of the most prosperous and sophisticated African states of the medieval world.

Fabulous though they seem, through the distorting lens of time, their roots lay in the customary politics mediating the ecosystems of savanna farmers, gathering energy and complexity from the material advantages

from wealth invested in commerce with Indian Ocean traders. For all the apparent grandeur, these organized long-distance trade networks begin in the concerns of small-scale farmers, tilling gardens and herding cows in the villages of southern Africa's earliest farmers.

More typical are the farmers of the Victoria Falls region, whose small stable populations sustained small-scale farming on the sandveld in southwestern Zambia. They engaged in local trade and obtained a few foreign objects in an otherwise low cost endeavor. They made and maintained social links necessary to mediate the risks of marginal sandveld agriculture and the longer-range linkages, which brought a few imports and copper to local markets.

Archaeology at the villages of the early farmers finds settlements with a few small huts. The earliest villagers, in the Victoria Falls region, worked iron at the center of their settlements, but elsewhere villages are formed around a central cattle byre, suggesting the central role that herding held in life. Otherwise, there is little indication of any marked differences in the ability to own prestigious items: copper cut into strips or worked into ornaments. There is no apparent difference in social status within the village nor in the daily life of the people living there. Huts are much the same size in one place as in another and the same kinds of pottery are found in one hut or another. Social differences existed between lineage stewards and their clients, but these are not marked by differential patterns of consumption.

These were not the homes of social equals, but communities of ranked kinsmen, living within the bonds of material flows, which could not be extended to the underwriting of class. Here and there, though, along the fringes of the Kalahari in Botswana and along the southern edge of the plateau, sources of wealth, such as cattle, were exploited and complex societies took root. The first rank societies were predicated upon political alliances forged from an ethos associated with the wealth accumulated and evaluated in herds or through the social control inherent in the control of inflows of foreign goods.

Trading enterprises and complex society, on the plateau, likewise were financed by imported inflows from the Indian Ocean trade. From ancient times, Asian and later Arab traders plied the coasts of east Africa. By the 9th century their trade routes penetrated deep into the continent, bringing luxuries from the Orient to exchange for ivory, copper, gold and slaves.

Egyptian glass and cowries from the east coast made their way up to isolated farming villages near the Victoria Falls in the 6th century. These items seem to have been the result of a fortuitous passage of goods from one village to another rather than the organized exchanges of later times. Still, it was a precursor of later, more organized, trade, harvesting ivory and mining copper.

Social patterns already discernible in Early Iron Age villages of the first millennium A.D. allied with prestige-yielding activities emphasizing the control of women and cattle. Women and cows symbolize fertility, productivity and value. Sometime in the 10th century, customary stewards living at Bambandyanalo on a hill top above the Limpopo valley coalesced their control of domestic production and participation in foreign trade into an infrastructure of prestige-yielding relationships, commanding material transactions across the plateau. This first-large scale exchange network, organizing trade and its routes along the Limpopo drainage, served as a model for later ones, as first one set of strategically placed managers or another gained dominance.

South central Africa's rivers give no easy access to the interior. The plateau stands proud above narrow, humid coastal plains. To the west, waters drain into vast interior drainages, while eastwards they come down from plateau heights in raging cascades or magnificent falls. The subcontinent was never easy to enter, but once upon the plateau's vastness, there are few barriers between the Zambezi and the Limpopo. The entrepreneurial elite exploited natural connectivities along the river valleys. This is very much a tale of rivers, of valued resources exploited in distant hinterlands and carried along riverine routes to ports on the coastal plain. The river of value was first exploited by the Limpopo valley towns, Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe, trading down river toward Maputo in Mozambique. Later trade was controlled by towns farther north as goods passed down the Save river to Sofala, on routes organized by the ruling elite at Great Zimbabwe. Later Mwene Mutapa, from a town at Fura Mt., monopolized Zambezi routes trading with the Portuguese at Tete and Sena. In practical terms, participation in the trading enterprise was proof of managerial performance, as local elites directed its flow, enhancing their credentials as suppliers of advantage to their clients.

The trading town of Bambandyanalo was established late in the 10th century A.D. at the confluence of the Shashi and Limpopo riven. The many

ivory objects found there suggest an interest in harvesting and trafficking in elephant ivory. The availability of alluvial gold nearby has suggested some additional involvement in the panning of gold. But there is no archaeological evidence to confirm this. The object of the Portuguese trade of the 16th century was gold, and, as a consequence, no ore source in the area was left unexploited. When white miners came late in the 19th century, they found themselves preceded in every instance by African mining operations of long standing. Although ivory seems to have been important in the beginning, attracting Arab merchants, African entrepreneurs soon adapted to market needs and developed their mineral deposits.

At first political life was governed by conventions inhering to the relations between cattle owners. Sometime in the 11th century though, a men's assembly area was constructed apart from the central cattle kraal, as the elite managers at Bambandyanalo began reforms intended to alter the way decisions were made and passed on, replacing the traditional decision-making body associated with the gathering of men to tend their animals with another more exclusive institution. Soon afterwards, though, control moved to a nearby larger location at Mapungubwe.

Energy demands of their technologies were mediated by the ability of managers to call upon strategic labor reserves. The growing economy is indicated by increases in size of family or other social units, and the larger town signals a somewhat larger population, an increase in labor force and production. The larger site, housing an augmented population, established claims upon a somewhat larger body of labor, with a greater output to invest and added incentive for the elite to meet the expectations of a growing number of clients. Whatever the politics, client producers still gained advantages from participation in material distributions and supported the claims of the elite.

At Mapungubwe, the elite built their residences high up the hill, away from the rest of the town, embodying privileged status and elevated social rank in house site. During the 12th century, Mapungubwe spread decision making to a middle level of managers. Where once many small settlements, of somewhat equal size, dotted the countryside, there now appeared a hierarchy of towns and hamlets of varying size, emphasizing an elaborating structure of social control. At its apex was Mapungubwe, the largest center, and scattered here and there were the homes of district elite located on hill-

tops, above small villages, while elsewhere on level ground were the small farming hamlets as before.

The settlement organization suggests the growth of social differentiation. Fanning hamlets were laid out as cattle-owning villages, whose headman derived their authority in traditional ways. Elsewhere, the men's assembly areas are preeminent. In this apical pyramid, some trusted in traditional politics, while elsewhere, an order of privilege fashioned by elite individuals commanding rich flows of goods and services came into being. Social inequality was represented not only by differences in access to prestigious decision-making bodies and prestige items but in the location and elaboration of residences.

Great Zimbabwe

By the early 13th century Mapungubwe had declined in importance. Evidence of its prominence vanishes with the ascendance of Great Zimbabwe. By the mid-13th century, the two towns had reversed their roles in the trading network. The Mapungubwe area declined in importance, and its prestige waned. Managers at Great Zimbabwe formerly allied to the Mapungubwe system, but now they controlled the inflow of goods and dominated the exchange network.

Since the trading network was constructed from a balance of social relationships, individuals seeking elite status sought membership and the advantages of participation. To create capital, they recruited clients and sought out strategic alliances with the established elite. Upon this social base, acute managers bought their way into the circle of the elite. The flow of benefits returned to client producers assured continued support, since the system was seen to work. Elite status was justified by assured returns on investment, reenforcing elite claims to privilege.

As the center of trade shifted north aided by cost benefits derived from managing shorter interior lines of communication, Great Zimbabwe's share of the circulation increased. Its elite managers were enabled to make greater investments in distribution and dampen the ability of others to command goods and services. The balance of power shifted. The transition was a result of adjustment to capital sources, volume and the inherent economics

of trade. Control of trade and the benefits of redistributions satisfied client expectations, attracting even more clients.

For the next 200 years, Great Zimbabwe was the most prestigious center in southern Africa, mining gold in nearby deposits and trading copper from the Katangan chiefdoms to trade with the Arabs on the Sofala coast. It commanded more wealth than did its southern predecessors and grew proportionately. With its ascendancy, new architectural and art styles came to the fore. Stone was used to join the natural boulders of the steep acropolis, and free-standing walls encircled and divided houses. There appear to be two interrelated developments here: increased hut size, associated once again with larger households, and an organized investment of community resources.

Investments in monumental construction are one way for the elite to display its organizational abilities, investing in symbols to the established order. Class distinctions already evident at the Limpopo valley towns were consolidated at Great Zimbabwe and the elite affirmed its stewardship, commanding resources and displaying its interest in the world-order. A principal rain-making shrine was erected at the leading residence at Great Zimbabwe. To village farmers in central Africa, rain is a haphazard, critical necessity. Much importance is given to ritual attending rainmaking and the mediating role of leaders in it. It is an obvious and advantageous extension of the manager's role.

The control of rainmaking and links between Great Zimbabwe and the rites of the supreme god, Mwari, emphasized elite interest in benevolent mediation of the supernatural for the common good. Mystification and the control of ritual is a subtly effective agency of political control. Since the elite managers had little force to expend, they used talents as motivators and benefactors, gaining clients in support of privilege.

The Great Zimbabwe network was no extensive than that attached to Mapungubwe, but its organization was the same. A large administrative center at Great Zimbabwe, smaller secondary zimbabwes on hill tops with stone walling and a great many farming hamlets without stone walling. The hamlets still emphasized the politics of cattle ownership.

The influence of Great Zimbabwe declined in the 15th century as power transferred to northern Mashonaland and the growing importance of trade in the Zambezi valley. By the mid-16th century, the Portuguese on the Zambezi, established settlements at Sena and Tete. In the southwest towns

as far away as Naletale and Khami grew in prominence. Even the minor stewards of the Gwembe valley were able to obtain commodities from as far away as the Katangan copper fields. The elite at fringe towns like Igombe Ilede were buried with gold beads and heavy copper ingots.

The Lord of the Mines

The Portuguese descriptions depict Mwene Mutapa as a priest king, sole communicator with the ancestral spirits and intercedent with Mwari. They also mention the importance of the Queen Mother and a Royal Sister in his court, demonstrating the continued social claim on the authority of the chiefdom by the matriline and rights of inheritance through it. The many royal wives re-affirm the politics of marriage and fertility. The trading network and the complex events it spawned were more than 600 years old at this time, but its social models were still well rooted in the African past and the patterns of matrilineal farming communities. At the same time, the elite structure of authority had achieved its own legitimacy and ritual, symbolized in a Royal Fire kindled at the Mwene Mutapa's court and carried to elite hearths throughout his realm.

The new capital of the Mwene Mutapas was on the northern edge of the plateau. From there they brought a vast area of the Zambezi valley under their rule, controlling not only the eastern and northern portions of the plateau but the lowlands in Mozambique as well. To the southwest, rival coalitions emerged. By the 16th century, a rival dynasty with capitals at Dhlo Dhlo, Naletale and Khami regulated social interaction and a flow of imported goods received indirectly from the Portuguese.

Many threads ran through the history of society on the southern savanna. Social webs grew as clients found benefits in alliances with reliable suppliers, and managers gained social advantage in providing value to their clients. What began as interaction between kith and kin, mediating adverse farming conditions, came to mediate the growth of privilege.

The underlying village economies remained dependent upon small-scale slash-and-burn production. Yet, increases in population were converted to the time and effort expended in production for exchange. The reliability of the exchange network bred a dependence upon its benefits and the society

placed authority with those who subsidized it, leading not only to the development of a complex society with class differences but a unifying religion.

At one time or another, investigators of the complex society of the southern savanna suggested its origins in the prestige yielded by cattle ownership, control of trade or the propagation of an ecumenical religion. It is apparent that all three mattered. Alliances arising from the interaction of cattle owners facilitated the first material flows. Economic competition involved in these practices, mediated by wealth to be found in the Indian Ocean trade and command of ritual re-enforced elite prominence.

Interpretations of Zimbabwean Culture

Interpretations of the significance of Great Zimbabwe began even before Karl Mauch visited it in 1871, The early interpretations and corresponding debate are best dealt with in their historic context. Interpretation of the archaeological remains has varied from time to time according to the attitudes, methods and intentions of archaeologists. Today, historians of African culture firmly believe that we can comprehend the basic outlines of its history and its role in the customary politics of the native people of southern Africa. This has not always been the case. From the first, differing research or political agendas have produced a series of often self-reifying impressions of the African past. Satisfying currently accepted canons of scientific discipline has not always been a prime consideration. As a result, interpretative exercises range from very strictly designed to more casual ones, from ones which emphasize field data and others which give weight to conventional wisdom.

The following list samples the diversity of ideas about Great Zimbabwe and the highly developed cultures of southern Africa over the past century. The public perception of archaeology and its goals have changed over the years. Acceptance of the works of presumably primitive people, has changed as well. Many articles and books in this listing are in a popular format as befits the assessment of a celebrated, if sometimes controversial, site. It includes standard assessments from the 19th century, which found it reasonable to assume that Great Zimbabwe and similar monumental sites

were the remains of a lost civilization with roots in the ancient Near East, and it includes a variety of other ideas as well. To sample more current ideas: reliable sources are the works of Summers or Garlake, who dug at Great Zimbabwe and related sites, have first-hand knowledge, and set high standards for their research. The recent detailed overview of southern Africa by Hall, Phillipson on African prehistory, and the publications of Huffman are also reliable guides.

Syntheses of currently held opinion are also available in the guides and travel accounts listed elsewhere. It is fair to say that the presentations of the different times and orientations each have a flavor of their own, and we can sample them here. I have placed reports of field work in later sections in order to concentrate on syntheses. One effect of synthesis is the creation of professional consensus, establishing a standard explanation, regulated by accepted rules of evidence. Professional archaeology has been fairly consistent in its understanding of the sites and the culture that produced them. It is comfortable with the conclusion of David Randall-MacIver, made in 1905, that the "ruins" sites are of an essentially African origin. It is no surprise that various other arguments are made and defended. These alternative hypotheses stem from the adherents of a Semitic, Indian, Egyptian or Red Sea origin and those championing the cause of Africans other than those resident in the area today.

This debate is the subject of historical reviews by Ranger, Trigger and M. Hall as well as some of the review articles included here. The debate continues today, as this list suggests.

One still interesting source of information, though now more than 80 years old, is in the entries for "Monomatapa," "Rhodesia," "Ophir" and "Zimbabwe" in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Three were written by Randall-MacIver based on recently completed field works; the fourth about *Ophir* used his data to dismiss the Phoenicians from south central Africa. Caton-Thompson cites the 12th and 13th editions, which reprint these entries.

The Context of Southern African Prehistory

Three leading Africanist prehistorians interpret the context and development of African cultures from their beginnings up to the complex society of the later Iron Age.

70. Clark, J. D. *The Prehistory of Southern Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1959.

An authoritative and comprehensive survey of southern African prehistory, emphasizes stone-based technology and development of hunter-foraging cultures, with a smaller section on the later iron-using cultures. Though superseded by later syntheses by Clark, it remains an important introduction to the prehistory of the southern half of the continent.

71. Clark, J. D. *The Prehistory of Africa*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1970.

An authoritative and comprehensive overview of African prehistory. Emphasizes the cultures and technologies of the Stone Age, although it concludes with a short section on food-producing economies and the history of their development.

72. Phillipson, D. W. *African Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Authoritative wide-ranging synthesis of African prehistory on a continent-wide basis. Necessary introduction to the prehistory of the continent. Includes discussion of the human evolutionary series, the development of stone-based technologies and the hunter/forager economies as well as the intensive collecting precursors of the food-producers. Substantiative overview of the development of food-producing economies and the spread of Bantu speakers into the southern subcontinent and the evidence for the later prehistory of the eastern and southern Africa. Reflects the current state of knowledge of the Iron Age and its consequences.

73. Inskip, R. R. "The Archaeological Background." *The Oxford History of South Africa*. Ed. M. Wilson and L. Thompson. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969. 1-39.

A general synthesis of the prehistory of South Africa from archaeological sources, with a short expository section devoted to each of the several temporal episodes recognized by archaeology.

[Background to the Zimbabwean System](#)

A collection of books and articles explaining the establishment of Iron Age cultures on the plateau and the development of the zimbabwes.

[Advanced States in Africa](#)

74. Connah, G. *African Civilizations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Excellent survey of the archaeology and history of pre-colonial cities and states in sub-Saharan Africa. Chapter 8, history and interpretation of Great Zimbabwe.
75. Davidson, B. *The Lost Cities of Africa*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1959.
Well-written popular account of the urban centers of African's past. Devotes three chapters to the history of the discovery of Great Zimbabwe and the controversy about its origins. Published in Britain as *Old Africa Rediscovered*. Touches similar themes in his other books as well.
76. Garlake, P. S. *The Kingdoms of Africa*. Oxford: Elsevier-Phaidon, 1978.
Lavishly illustrated popular presentation of the history and material remains of complex society on the African continent. Excellent illustrated description of Great Zimbabwe. Introduces the physical environment, traditional architecture, non-African perceptions of the continent and its lifeways; brief history of agriculturalists in southern Africa. Pp. 32-36 describe the history of interpreting Great Zimbabwe: pp. 70-86 reconstruct the society raising the zimbabwes; while pp. 87-92 illustrate architectural features at Great Zimbabwe, and some other stone-walled enclosures.
77. Mair, L. *African Kingdoms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
Though the reference to the history of the Monomatapa kingdom is limited to a brief mention as an example of an African kingdom, the value of this book stems from its collation of sources. Suggests patterns inherent in the structure of customary complex polities on the continent.
78. Oliver, R. A., and A. Atmore. *The African Middle Ages: 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
Continuation of history of Africa begun in Oliver and Fagan in 1975.

- Chapter 11, history of the Zaire Basin, and Chapter 12, southern Zambezia at the time of substantial contact with the Portuguese.
79. Oliver, R A., and B. M. Fagan. *Africa in the Iron Age: c. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1400*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
Comprehensive introduction to the archaeology and history of precolonial sub-Saharan Africa.
 80. Shinnie, M. *Ancient African Kingdoms*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd., 1965.
Brief summary of the customary complex societies of Africa. Chapter 7 an illustrated overview of Great Zimbabwe and its history

History of Culture in Southern Africa

81. Birmingham, D., and S. Marks. "Southern Africa." *The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol. 3 from c. 1050 to c. 1600*. Ed. R. Oliver. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977. 567-620.
Synthesis from the archaeological and historical sources, of cultural-historical events occurring south of the Zambezi, involving the foundation and development of Zimbabwe culture.
82. Fagan, B. M. *Southern Africa During the Iron Age*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1965.
General popular survey of the southern African Iron Age, emphasizing south central Africa. Written soon after the inception of Iron Age studies in the subcontinent, an important first attempt to produce a unified overview of Iron Age materials and set them into a broader context.
83. Fagan, B. M. "Zambia and Rhodesia." *The African Iron Age*. Ed. P. L. Shinnie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971. 215-44.
Synthesis of research results on south central African Iron Age based, in part, on the author's field research in Zambia, and published material from Zimbabwe and Malawi. Includes brief history of research on the later prehistory.
84. Fagan, B. M. "The Zambezi and Limpopo Basins: 1100-1500." *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. D.T. Niane. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984. 525-50.
Illustrated introduction to the later Iron Age cultures of southern

Zambezia with particular attention to the origins and development of Great Zimbabwe and complex society in the region.

85. Huffman, T. N. "The Rise and Fall of Zimbabwe." *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 353-66.

Explores three recent hypotheses for the origin of Zimbabwe culture. These individually stress the importance of cattle, trade and religion as elements motivating state creation. He concludes that Zimbabwe culture was a secondary state organized in response to a flow of goods generated by the Arab gold trade.

86. Huffman, T. N. "Iron Age Settlement Patterns and the Origin of Class Distinction in Southern Africa." *Advances in World Archaeology* 5 (1986): 291-338.

Detailed discussion of the use of the cognitive features of settlement patterns and settlement hierarchies in the study of the development of the Zimbabwe state.

87. Huffman, T. N. "Southern Africa to the South of the Zambezi." *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. Ed. M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1988. 664-80.

Illustrated summary discussion of the settlement of the plateau during the Early Iron Age and development of Zimbabwe Culture.

88. Jaffey, A. J. E. "A Re-appraisal of the History of the Rhodesian Iron Age up to the Fifteenth Century." *Journal of African History* 7 (1966): 189-95.

Summary article suggesting the pattern of historical development of traditional cultures in pre-European contact times, drawn from linguistic, archaeological and ethnographic sources.

89. Marks, S., and R. Gray. "Southern Africa and Madagascar." *The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol 4 from C. 1600 to C. 1790*. Ed. R. Gray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 384-468.

Summary discussion of the history of complex societies in the subcontinent from historical and other sources.

90. Oliver, R. A. "The Riddle of Zimbabwe." *The Dawn of African History*. Ed. R. Oliver. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. 53-59.

Brief illustrated discussion of the history of the Zimbabwe-Monomatapa kingdom, with comparisons to the other complex African polities in eastern Africa.

91. Phillipson, D. W. "Central Africa North of the Zambezi." *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. Ed. M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1988. 643-63. Illustrated summary discussion of the archaeological evidence for reconstructing the cultures and events of the Iron Age.
92. Sinclair, P.J.J. *Space, Time and Social Formation*. Uppsala: Societas Archaeologicas Upsaliensis, 1987. Wide-ranging illustrated discussion of field research on and analyses of customary state formation in south central Africa. Maps the political divisions within a social organization predicated on control of internal production.
93. Summers, R. F. H. *Ancient Ruins and Vanished Civilizations of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: T. V. Bulpin, 1971. Authoritative summary of the prehistory of Zimbabwe with particular regard for the florescent cultures of the later Iron Age.
94. Vogel, J. O. "The Cultural Basis, Development and Influence of a Socially Mediated Trading Corporation in Southern Zambezia." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9 (1990): 105-47. Description of the second millennium A.D. trading corporation in southern Zambezia and its origins in traditional kinds of social interaction. Suggests that wide-scale trading networks originated in smaller exchange arrangements made necessary by the management of low-cost slash-and-burn ecosystems on the marginal soils of south central Africa. It is posited that the influx of foreign trade enhanced the flow of value within the traditional distribution networks and enhanced the status of customary administrators able to control these rich flows.

[Mapungubwe and the Limpopo Valley Sites](#)

95. Eloff, J. F., and A. Meyer. "The Greefswald Sites." *Guide to Archaeological Sites in the Transvaal*. Ed. E. A. Voight. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum, 1981. 7-21. Illustrated overview and synthesis of information relating to the major sites at Mapungubwe Hill and Bambandyanalo. Synthesizes previous research at these sites as well as the authors' field investigations.

96. Fagan, B. M. "The Greefswald Sequence: Bambandyanalo and Mapungubwe." *Journal of African History* 5 (1964): 337-61.
Reviews the results of investigations during the 1934 to 1940 field seasons at the middle Limpopo valley sites. Discusses research hypotheses, the archaeological record and suggests a regional chronology.
97. Gardner, G. "Mapungubwe 1935-1940." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 4 (1955): 73-77.
Account of research at Mapungubwe and K2 in lieu of any publication since Fouche's compilation of excavation reports of 1937. Concise statement of Gardner's interpretation of Greefswald sequence.
98. Gardner, G. "Mapungubwe and the Second Volume." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 14 (1958): 123-31.
Address delivered in September 1958. Describes state of field investigations at Mapungubwe Hill and at K2. Offers tentative conclusions and a report on the progress toward publication of this data.

Great Zimbabwe: "Essentially African"

The Results of Field Research

99. Barker, G. "Cows and Kings: Models for Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54 (1988): 223-39.
Ecological constraints imposed on traditional modes of cattle management as a factor in the spatial arrangement of customary administrative wards.
100. Dornan, S. S. "Rhodesian Ruins and Native Tradition." *South African Journal of Science* 12 (1916): 502-16.
Illustrated collection of traditional history of Great Zimbabwe. Suggests that of the prevailing theories concerning Great Zimbabwe and its origins, neither the one posited by Bent and Hall nor that of Randall-MacIver takes into consideration evidence available in local African tradition. Posits that, counter to an oft-expressed opinion, the African population retains quite vivid recollections of the zimbabwes and their history. Presents the oral testimony of three informants, although he

admits to giving little credence to such statements. Concludes that the quality of the stone construction suggests neither great antiquity nor foreign influence. Concludes that Great Zimbabwe was built and inhabited by Africans, who had recently abandoned it. See Garlake, P. S. (20).

101. Garlake, P. S. *Great Zimbabwe Described and Explained*. Harare: Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1982.

Surveys the history, architecture, archaeology and interpretation of Great Zimbabwe.

102. Huffman, T. N. "Solomon, Sheba and Zimbabwe." *Rhodesian Prehistory* 14 (1975): 21-24.

Illustrated discussion of the claims made for an ancient association between Great Zimbabwe and the gold fields of King Solomon and the residence of the Queen of Sheba. Explains that the C-14 chronology of Great Zimbabwe is too recent to be associated with ancient times and that resemblances between central African architecture and sometimes cited southern Arabian structures are misleading or erroneously stated.

103. Huffman, T. N. "Zimbabwe: Southern Africa's First Town." *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7.15 (1977): 9-14.

Illustrated summary article reconstructing the cultural history of Great Zimbabwe with respect to the economic, ritual and political life of the people living there.

104. Huffman, T. N. "Snakes and Birds: Expressive Space at Great Zimbabwe." *African Studies* 40 (1981): 131-50.

Illustrated analysis of the symbolism inherent in the spatial organization of Great Zimbabwe; along with a collation of ethnographic and historical sources detailing social space in southeastern Bantu society. Examines the spatial expression of traditional Shona attitudes about status and life forces and constructs a model for observing evidence of a similar world view in archaeological remains.

105. Robinson, K. R. "The Archaeology of the Rozwi." *The Zambesian Past*. Ed. E. Stokes and R. Brown. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966. 3-27.

Examination of the archaeological evidence relevant to the period of Rozwi domination in Zimbabwe. Examines the ceramic evidence for continuities and the distribution of zimbabwes in space and time to conclude that the Rozwi developed autochthonously in the south and the

center of the associated Zimbabwe culture moved north through time and that the emergence of the Rozwi was coincident with the first walling at Great Zimbabwe. Illustrated with two maps depicting the distribution of sites associated with either the Khami tradition or Zimbabwe culture.

106. Summers, R. F. H. *Zimbabwe: A Rhodesian Mystery*, Johannesburg: Nelson, 1963.

General review of the traditional, archaeological and historical evidence from and about Great Zimbabwe and the other stone enclosures.

107. Wieschhoff, H. A. *The Zimbabwe-Monomatapa Culture in Southeast Africa*. Menasha: General Series in Anthropology, No. 8, George Banta, 1941.

Illustrated excavations at the Mtoko and Vukwe sites and other research in Zimbabwe. Summary of the archaeological background. Suggests origin for the Monomatapa kingship among the people of southern Ethiopia. Field research conducted by a German party in eastern Africa during 1928-1930 also the basis of report by Jensen in 1939.

Some Interpretative Reaction to Field Studies

The Times on Randall-MacIver. . .

108. Anonymous. "The Ruins of Rhodesia." *The Times* 12 February 1906, 3.

Royal Geographical Society meeting on afternoon of 11 February. Paper by Randall-MacIver on his research, its conclusions and debate accompanying it.

109. Hobley, C. W. "The Zimbabwe Culture: Ruins and Reactions." *Man* 31 (1931): Article 172.

An extended favorable review of Caton-Thompson's *Zimbabwe Culture*. Explores the question of Great Zimbabwe and its origins, alternative hypotheses and conclusions from the current research. The following articles by a leading archaeologist, though a quarter century apart, epitomize the investigations of Randall-MacIver and Caton-Thompson.

110. Myres, J. L. "Mediaeval Rhodesia." *The Geographical Journal* 28 (1906): 68.

Generally supportive review of Randall-MacIver's research at Great

Zimbabwe. Supports author's dating of Great Zimbabwe but remarks concerning the provenience of imported china provoked a rebuttal by Hall in 1907.

111. Myres, J. L. "Zimbabwe: The Riddle of the Ruins: Evidence from the Site." *The Times* 7 April 1930, 16-17.

Clear concise exposition of the archaeology at Great Zimbabwe; dispels the idea of an exotic antiquity. Photographs on p. 18. Precipitates an exchange with R. C. F. Maugham on 9 Apr.:12; 11 Apr.:10; 17 Apr.:10; 24 Apr.:8; 3 May:8 and 9 May:12.

Syntheses and Interpretations

112. Jeffreys, M. D. W. "Zimbabwe and Galla Culture." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 9 (1954): 152.

Illustrated brass armlet with incised decoration of Arab influence. Associating this with local pottery of Galla type and non-Negroid Mapungubwe skeletons suggests a Galla origin for Zimbabwe culture.

113. Jensen, A. E. "Simbabwe und die Megalithkultur." *Paideuma* 1 (1939): 101-19.

Interesting illustrated attempt to explain the function of the zimbabwes by analogy to sacred assembly plazas of southern Ethiopia and a model derived from cultures which produce megalithic monuments. Comments on other architectural features like stone towers and curved stairs. Posits that the type of construction used at Khami predates that of free-standing type found at Great Zimbabwe, Suggests that the builders of the Inyanga-type terracing and the builders of the zimbabwes were culturally distinct. Posits that the bird-like adornments at Great Zimbabwe are symbolic of the departed spirits of chiefs. Suggests that the pit structures of Inyanga are ceremonial chambers, analogous to the underground "kivas" of the American Southwest. Draws data from field investigations in southern Ethiopia and Zimbabwe.

114. Schebesta, P. P. "Die Zimbabwe-Kultur in Afrika." *Anthropos* 21 (1926): 484-522.

Important compilation of information describing traditional African society culled from documents originating with the Portuguese contact with the interior of the south central African plateau. Demonstrates the

essentially African structure of the societies described in ethnographic accounts, attempts to go beyond then current practice of comparing architectural details, based on the idea that the builders came from outside Africa. Reconstructs society of the Monomatapa kingdom and suggests a comparison with the structure of Buganda society. Posits that stone zimbabwe temples associated with the worship of the sun and that Zimbabwe culture originated among a migrant population from Uganda.

Marxist Interpretation

A leading Marxist interpreter reconstructs the development of complex societies on the plateau.

115. Fadeev, L. A. "Problema Proiskhozhdiya Kulturi Zimbabwi." *Sovetskaya Ethnografiya* 2 (1960): 71-91.

Zimbabwe culture as the legitimate autochthonous product of people and cultures native to the region.

116. Fadeev, L. A. "Monomatapa: A Study of Social-Economic Classes in Populations Living on the Zambezi-Limpopo Watershed During the Middle Ages." *Sovetskaya Ethnografiya* 3 (1961): 66-76.

Marxist interpretation of cultural development on the plateau from Portuguese sources and archaeology of Randall-MacIver, Caton-Thompson and Wieschhoff. Posits the "Middle Ages" as a time of transition from primitive-communal stage early-class one. Notes retention of political structures reminiscent of earlier matriarchal village-commune in the emerging patriarchal-state. Suggests that failure to attain economic stability made the Monomatapa state unstable, causing the formation of first early-feudal states.

Black Studies Oriented

117. Cameron, N. E. *The Evolution of the Negro*. Westport: Reprinted 1979 by Negro Universities Press, 1929.

Originally published in two volumes between 1929 and 1934 by the author in Georgetown, British Guiana. Reconstruct a history of black

African civilization and culture from the historical literature. Vol. 1, pp. 59-77, uses Portuguese and other early authorities and Randall-MacIver to depict the life way of the "Matopan empire."

118. Jackson, J. G. *Introduction to African Civilizations*. (Reprinted 1970) New York: University Books, 1937.

An Afrocentric view of the "history of Africa from the origin of man to the present time." Chapter 7 includes a brief summary overview of the history and influence of the florescent societies of southern Zambezia derived from varied sources. Arguments contrast with the "Semitocentric" ideas of an early period of investigation of the zimbabwes.

119. Spady, J. G. "The Ancient Zimbabwe Empire." *Negro History Magazine* 34 (February 1971): 33-34.

Illustrated, confused understanding of ideas of Mauch and the relationship of Great Zimbabwe to the Queen of Sheba, offering the kingdom of Monomatapa and Great Zimbabwe as products of advanced black civilizations of extreme antiquity.

Popularly Oriented

120. d'Arcy Anderson, G. "The Riddle of Rhodesia." *The China Journal* 9.6 (1929): 288-302.

Illustrated discussion of Great Zimbabwe from field observation and published materials.

121. de Camp, L. S. "Secret of Zimbabwe, Search for King Solomon's Mines." *Science Digest* 61 (February 1968): 13-19.

Popular description of the architecture and layout of Great Zimbabwe. Recounts the history of research and the sometimes "dubious" theories devised to explain the presence of monumental architecture in southern Africa.

122. de Camp, L. S., and C. C. de Camp. *Ancient Ruins and Archaeology*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1964.

Excellent written illustrated popular survey of the fascination for an exotic lost cities of antiquity. Chap. 6. recounts the history of research and speculation about Great Zimbabwe.

123. Stokes, F. M. C. "Zimbabwe." *The Geographical Magazine* 2 (1935): 142-56.

Well-illustrated detailed description of Great Zimbabwe, some of the alternate interpretations, and personal opinion on local African peoples as the builders.

Varied Interpretations of the Past: A Debate

A debate precipitated by revisions of the past in the writings of Ken Mufuka and the orientation of the interpretation at Great Zimbabwe.

124. Garlake, P. S. "Ken Mufuka and Great Zimbabwe." *Antiquity* 58 (1984): 121-23.

Some current attitudes toward Great Zimbabwe and a review of Mufuka's interpretation of the life and culture at Great Zimbabwe. Reflects on the political motivation of some recent scholars and the intention to revise the history of Great Zimbabwe as devised by non-African researchers.

125. Mufuka, K. N. *Dzimhahwe: Life and Politics in the Golden Age 1100-1500 A.D.* Harare: Harare Publishing House, 1983.

Denunciation of non-African interpretation of Great Zimbabwe and the assertion that Great Zimbabwe was the center of a classless socialist society. This short book and its position was rebutted by Garlake above.

The Founders of Zimbabwean Civilization: An Exchange

An exchange of letters precipitated by Wainwright, publishing his opinion that the builders of Great Zimbabwe were African invaders, allied with the Galla of Ethiopia.

126. Huntingford, G. W. B. "The Founders of the Zimbabwean Civilization." *Man* 52 (1952): article 118.

Suggests that no evidence exists to support a movement of the Galla during the time period posited by Wainwright.

127. Jeffreys, M. D. W. "The Founders of the Zimbabwean Civilization." *Man* 52 (1952): article 119.

Response supportive of Wainwright hypotheses.

128. Jensen, A. E. "The Founders of the Zimbabwean Civilization." *Man* 52 (1952): article 150.
Response to Wainwright's thesis of origins for Great Zimbabwe with a Galla invasion. Doubts associating Great Zimbabwe with Galla, positing instead a pre-Islamic culture impinging upon the indigenous "megalithic" peasant cultivators who formed the lower stratum of society.
129. Schofield, J. F. "The Founders of the Zimbabwean Civilization." *Man* 51 (1951): article 280.
Disputes Wainwright and his conclusions, with reference to the archaeological evidence from Zimbabwe.
130. Wainwright, G. A. "The Founders of the Zimbabwe Civilization." *Man* 49 (1949): Article 80.
Interpretative summary, based on evidence from linguistics, historical sources and architecture, arguing that Zimbabwe culture originated with the movement of Galla people from Ethiopia into south central Africa some time in the 9th century.
131. Wainwright, G. A. "The Founders of the Zimbabwean Civilization." *Man* 51 (1951): article 300.
Defends his hypothesis against Schofield's criticism.

[Great Zimbabwe: "Foreign Intruders"](#)

[Some Current Interpretations and Responses](#)

[Bruwer](#)

132. Bruwer, A. J. *Zimbabwe: Rhodesia's Ancient Greatness*. Johannesburg: Hugh Kewartland, 1965.
Recent rendition of earlier arguments positing a Phoenician origin to Great Zimbabwe and the other monumental sites.
133. Fagan, B. M. "Review of Bruwer 1965." *Antiquity* 44 (1970): 320-22.
Extended review of Bruwer above. Surveys the history of discoveries

and controversies involving Great Zimbabwe. Refutes Bruwer's concept of Phoenician settlements at the zimbabwes and places such arguments within their historical context.

Hromnik

134. Hall, M. L., and C. H. Borland. "The Indian Connection: An Assessment of Hromnik's 'Indo-Africa'" *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 75-80.

Extended review of syntheses published by Hromnik in 1981. Refutes basic premise of Hromnik and suggests that it is a kind of "cult archaeology" that reverts to attitudes current in 19th-century archaeology while rejecting modern Africanist studies.

135. Hromnik, C. A. *Indo-Africa: Towards a New Understanding of the History of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Cape Town: Juta, 1981.

Argues the thesis that significant attributes in the development of later prehistory in southern Africa were due to the influence of ancient settlers from the Indian subcontinent engaged in the exploitation of African gold deposits.

136. Hromnik, C. A. "African History and Africanist Orthodoxy: A Response to Hall and Borland's Review Article on 'Indo-Africa'" *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 36-39.

Response to the criticisms of Hall and Borland.

Mallows

137. Hromnik, C. "Review of Mallows: The Mystery of Great Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 41 (1986): 98-99.

Generally sympathetic review of Mallows, though critical of his conclusions, as they deviate from his own India origin hypothesis.

138. Mallows, W. *The Mystery of Great Zimbabwe: A New Solution*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1984.

Illustrated description of architecture at Great Zimbabwe, interpreting the Great Enclosure as a slave pen and assembly point first used by south Indian miners and later by Arab slavers.

Gayre

139. Gayre, R. *The Origin of Zimbabwean Civilization*. Salisbury: Galaxie Press, 1972.

Recent rendition of earlier attempts to deny the African origins of Great Zimbabwe. Suggests an ancient Phoenician connection.

Some Older Versions of the Non-African Version

Products of Field Research

140. Clarkson Fletcher, H. *Psychic Episodes of Great Zimbabwe*. South Africa: Central News Agency, Ltd., 1941.

Illustrated description of seances held at Great Zimbabwe and their spirit guides. Presents a history of settlement by Egyptians in 2500 B.C. and defends hypotheses of Bent, Hall and Neal against revisionist medievalists Randall-MacIver and Caton-Thompson.

141. Frobenius, L. *Erythräa: Lander und Zeiten Des heiligen Konigsmordes*. Berlin: Atlantis, 1931.

Suggests Great Zimbabwe, a 3000-year-old remnant of an ancient southern African empire organized by people from the Persian Gulf.

142. Hall, R. N. *Pre-historic Rhodesia: An Examination of the Ethnological and Anthropological Evidences of the Origin and Age of the Rock Mines and Stone Buildings with a Gazetteer of Medieval South-central Africa*. London: Menthuen, 1909.

Rebuttal to Randall-MacIver and his conclusion that Great Zimbabwe is essentially African in origin and his concept of accretional change in the development of the buildings, arguing that an innate decadence of Africans makes them incapable of impressive works, without foreign direction.

143. Peters, C. *The Eldorado of the Ancients*. London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1902.

Field investigations in south central Africa and his ideas concerning the location of the "Ophir of Solomon" in the country between the Zambezi

and the Limpopo rivers. Posits settlers from Egypt as responsible for building the zimbabwes. English version of *Im Goldland des Altertums: Forschungsgeti zwischen Zambesi und Sabi*, published in 1902 by J. F. Lehmann's Verlag: München.

Historical Surveys

144. Johnston, H. H. *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899.
A continent-wide overview of the subject of foreign influences upon Africa from classical sources and conventional wisdom of the time. Pp. 76-77 present a picture of the gold fields of south central Africa under active exploitation by Semitic peoples with long standing connections to the Arabian peninsula, whose operations were disrupted by Bantu invaders entering the territory early in the modern era. Posits that the inhabitants of Great Zimbabwe were then driven back to the coast.
145. Johnston, H. H. *The Opening up of Africa*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911.
Volume in the Home University Library. Pp. 85-91 discuss the commonly held perception of Great Zimbabwe discuss an outpost of a Semitic penetration of the interior of southeastern Africa in antiquity.
146. Latimer, E. W. *Europe in Africa in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: McClurg and Co., 1898.
General history of the European penetration and domination of the African continent. Pp. 365-368 discuss the Semitic origins of Great Zimbabwe from Bent.
147. Letcher, O. *The Gold Mines of Southern Africa: The History, Technology and Statistics of the Gold Industry*. Johannesburg and London: The author and Waterlow and Sons, 1936.
Wide-ranging history of the gold fields and gold mining on the Rand with a survey of other gold fields in Africa. Pp. 12-22 glance at ideas about Great Zimbabwe and its history.
148. Lezard, A. *The Great Gold Reef: The Romantic History of the Rand Goldfields*. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1937.

History of mining in the northern Transvaal. Pp. 299-303 recount the romance of the Queen of Sheba and Great Zimbabwe.

Interpretative Exercises

149. Brou, A. "Zimbabyé: Les Grandes Ruines de L'Afrique du Sud." *Etudes religieuses, philosophiques, historiques et littéraires* 66 (Septembre-Décembre 1895): 227-49.

Observations about Great Zimbabwe in light of the recent archaeological effort from ancient historical and other published materials in comprehending Great Zimbabwe as a remnant of the ancient world.

150. Bullock, C. *The Mashona and the Matabele*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta and Co., Ltd., 1950.

Amended version of "The Mashona" published 1927. Covers all aspects of the indigenous cultures of Zimbabwe, as well as the relationship, historical and cultural, between them and Great Zimbabwe.

151. Cameron, G. H. "Zimbabwe." *The Times* 27 September 1929, 10.

Response to *The Times* report of Caton-Thompson's research. Dismisses Caton-Thompson's conclusions re Great Zimbabwe, offering an alternate Bushman hypothesis instead.

152. Gregory, J. W. "Early Rhodesian Mining and Zimbabwe." *Nature* 124 (9 November 1929).

Posits that though the stone enclosures may be medieval the mining is more ancient and organized in antiquity by foreigners, citing P. A. Wagner as an authority.

153. Holz, P. "Riddle of the Zimbabwe Ruins." *Contemporary Review* 190 (December 1956): 362-64.

Popular presentation of the exotic nature of Great Zimbabwe and the mystery surrounding its origin.

154. Homburger, L. "Indians in Africa." *Man* 56 (1956): article 24.

Discussion of linguistic, physical and other evidence thought to indicate a degree of cultural influence from the Indian subcontinent on the people of eastern Africa.

155. Keane, A. H. *The Gold of Ophir: Whence Brought and by Whom*. London: Edward Stanford, 1901.

The noted diffusionist examines arguments about the geographical location and historical links in the ancient gold trade. Intends to settle the question of the location of the biblical Ophir. Reviews the arguments of Peters, Burton, Lassen, Glaser and Bent. Concludes that Ophir was a distribution point on the southern coast of Arabia rather than the source of precious commodities as suggested by others. Counter to Peters, identifies south east Africa as the biblical Havilah and posits its earliest exploitation by Himyarites from southern Arabia. Posits that the "gold of Ophir" came from the interior of south central Africa.

156. Lipsett, W. G. "Mystery of Zimbabwe." *American Mercury* 79 (1954): 111-15.

Popular description of architecture and features of Great Zimbabwe. Associates with the more exotic theories of the site's origins and connections, expressing a mysterious aura.

157. Nazaroff, P. S. "What Are the Zimbabwe Ruins? The Solution of Their Secret." *Blackwood's Magazine* 229.1388 (June 1931): 761-92.

Extended exposition positing Zoroastrian rites at Great Zimbabwe. Posits the influence of a pre-Islamic "Perso-Asiatic" civilization on the people and culture of south central Africa.

158. Passarge, L. "Ophir und die Simbabwekultur." *Globus* 91 (1907): 229-32.

That an Asiatic culture settled Great Zimbabwe, diffused its culture to the local Africans, and degenerated, becoming indistinguishable from the present population.

159. Robinson, A. E. "Zimbabwe." *American Anthropologist* 35 (1933): 204-205.

Discounts prevailing ideas, engendered in South Africa, about the origins of Great Zimbabwe but posits doubts that Great Zimbabwe can be totally attributed to an autochthonous people unaffected by foreign influences.

160. van Oordt, J. F. *Who Were the Builders of Zimbabwe?* Cape Town: Central News Agency, Ltd., 1906.

Philological argument derives words "Zambezi" and "Zimbabwe" from Dravidian roots. Posits foundation of Great Zimbabwe by people from north west India.

161. Wilmot, A. *The Zimbabwe of South Eastern Africa*. Cape Town: T. Maskew Miller, 1919.

Lecture presented 16 May, comprised in a series of articles originally printed in the *Cape Times*. Explores the question of the emporia at Tarshish and Ophir, ancient gold sources and the argument that south east Africa was one of the Ophirs of the Ancients. Surveys a variety of literary sources, ancient and recent, to argue that the zimbabwes were built by ancient nature-worshipping Semitic miners, while arguing against the idea of medieval Bantu builders as proposed by Randall-MacIver and Dornan.

Symposia, Conferences, and Multi-Authored Compendia

The usual form of publication of research results or syntheses in southern African archaeology is the journal article. Such articles are meant for a select audience of professionals. Books describing field investigations are still common enough but specialist debate is held between the soft: covers of the regional and international journals. The volumes listed here are of three kinds. One the product of professional conferences, which often present a potpourri of often disconnected essays, reflecting a current research interest of the presenter or addressing parochial or present arguments. These volumes though invaluable to science or historians of science, tend to be less so to a more general readership who require a current acquaintance with research conclusions. The second category of multi-authored volumes are those produced by symposia upon a common theme. These volumes are equally professional but more focussed in their subject matter. Such volumes are useful to the professional audience but may be somewhat more useful to the lay reader. The third category is that of composite works in which a number of specialist authors pool their expertise to produce an up to date survey of a subject.

These three kinds of multi-authored volumes make up the following list. Some of the essays contained in them may be listed in later specialized listings, but here we suggest an availability of materials beyond south central Africa and an intellectual environment for research in Africa generally.

The volume edited by Fage and Oliver reprints some specialist essays from the *Journal of African History* and spreads a broad net, reviving, often in revised form, a number of excellent articles. In this way it reflects the older pattern of broad-based presentations found at the professional meetings.

The paramount congress of Africanists studying Africa's past is the Panafrican Congress of Prehistory. Periodically meeting in different regions of the continent, each meeting illuminates the local archaeology. The

different volumes by Clark and Cole, Mortelmans and Nenquin, Hugot, and Leakey and Ogot also display the growing numbers of participants and their changing interests.

Similar in content and range is the Wenner-Gren volume of Clark and Bishop drawing together specialist interpreters to present an integrated picture of the state of Africanist studies. No other individual work succeeds at doing this. The Africanist conference held at Berkeley in 1988 succeeded in weaving together the threads of Africanist prehistory, but no single volume was produced to commemorate it. This is another sign of the growth and diversity of archaeological studies in Africa. It is no longer possible to compartmentalize either the researchers or their interests. There are now many book marks but fewer book ends. The discipline has become more regional and subject specific.

The growth in archaeological investigations within national borders has brought forth symposia dedicated to specific regions or countries. Hall, Avery, Avery, Wilson and Humphries combines the efforts of a new generation of archaeologists working in southern Africa as did van der Merwe and Huffman. Meanwhile, Sinclair and Rakotoarisoa concentrate their attentions on the initiation of archaeological research in Madagascar and coastal Africa. Cruz e Silva, Senna-Martinez, Morais and Teixeira Duarte produce an equally useful first attempt to spotlight the efforts of an emerging generation of scholars and their interests in Mozambique, and Hitchcock and Smith do the same for Botswana. It is no surprise that these three otherwise underreported countries nurture groups of younger investigators.

The traditional history of southern African people is amply treated as a reflection of the apparent continuities between parts of the archaeological, or pre-European, record and the present. Several volumes of symposium papers are available. Gray and Birmingham, as well as the symposium papers edited by Chittick and Rotberg, address matters of traditional trade and contacts off the African mainland. The purported isolation of African people from the events of rest of the world is thereby cast aside.

These symposia on a common theme have grown more usual even if the theme is sometimes broadly drawn. The beginning and progress of agriculture in Africa and its relation to other agricultural technologies is a common idea uniting the volumes edited by Sutton, Clark and Brandt and Megaw. An allied theme of the spread of Bantu-speaking farmers southward

is treated by Ehret and Posnansky. The value of these volumes lies in the variety of interpretation available on a narrow subject.

A thorough-going history of African archaeology remains to be written, though Robertshaw's essayists make a first-class preliminary stab at one.

Somewhat more popular in intent though equally scholarly in approach are histories of Zambia edited by Fagan and Malawi by Pachai, each produced through the efforts of leading specialists. These histories of Zambia and Malawi are of equal use to the general as well as the specialist reader in that they integrate varied research and parochial interests into a coherent whole. Composite volumes authored by several regional specialists appear as one solution to making the growing wealth of information readily available. Bacon's volume places the Zimbabwe phenomenon into the context of florescent cultures worldwide. Encyclopedias such as Sherrat's and the historical atlas produced by Ajayi and Crowder make accessible to the general reader results of massive research efforts in useful form. Clark's *Atlas of African Prehistory* serves the same function.

Fortunately, there are many such multi-authored projects explaining the course of African history by Oliver, Shinnie, and Gray. More ambitious are the several volumes of the *Unesco General History of Africa*, each devoted to a general period of time or historical theme and continental coverage, providing ample opportunity to extend one's gaze far beyond the horizons of south central Africa while accompanied by trustworthy guides: El Fasi and Hrbek, Mokhtar, Niane, and Ki-Zerbo. *The Cambridge History of Africa* uses the same multi-author format as the Unesco volumes. The first four volumes cover much the same ground with many of the same authors writing comparable essays. It is an excellent alternative to the Unesco offering.

Atlases

162. Ajayi, J. F. A, and M. Crowder, General Editors. *Historical Atlas of Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Maps from many sources descriptive of boundaries of modern and

ancient cultures and states. Introduction to locales and complexity of the African past.

163. Clark, J. D., editor. *Atlas of African Prehistory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Authoritative guide to distribution of prehistoric culture from the earliest Stone Age material into more recent times. Somewhat overtaken by research since its publication but still indispensable as an introduction.

164. Page, J. D. *An Atlas of African History*. London: E. Arnold, 1963.

Compilation of maps drawn from information from many sources depicting the bounds of modern and ancient political units.

Multi-authored Volumes

165. Bacon, E., editor. *Vanished Civilizations of the Ancient World*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Illustrated popularly written specialist papers by leading investigators. Worldwide coverage of current ideas on the important complex societies of antiquity. Summers' chapter on Great Zimbabwe and south central Africa a sound testament to his ideas on this subject.

166. El Fasi, M., and I. Hrbek, editors. *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

Volume 3 of the *Unesco General History of Africa*. An edited selection of specialist papers devoted to a significant period which saw the expansion of Bantu speakers into the southern subcontinent and the development of complex societies throughout a broad extent of sub-Saharan Africa. Provides good comprehensive surveys of the archaeology of south central Africa.

167. Fagan, B. M., editor. *A Short History of Zambia*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Collection of brief popular summaries by regional specialists on the pre-colonial history of Zambia from archaeology and traditional history.

168. Fagan, J. D., and R. A. Oliver, editors. *Papers in African Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Collected essays selected from the *Journal of African History*, including Fagan on trade in southern Africa.

169. Gray, R., editor. *The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol. 4 from C. 1600 to C. 1790*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
Excellent collection of specialist papers, each relating the history of a different complex regional society of sub-Saharan Africa.
170. Mokhtar, G., editor. *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1981.
Volume 2 of the Unesco *General History of Africa*. Specialist articles provide excellent overviews from many sources reconstructing the early history of agricultural and other complexly structured societies on the continent. Excellent source for regions and cultures beyond southern and central Africa.
171. Niane, D. T., editor. *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, Ltd., 1984.
Volume 4 of the Unesco General History of Africa. Areal specialist reports on the archaeology and history of the complex societies of "medieval" Africa, its internal development and relations with the rest of the world.
172. Oliver, R., editor. *The Dawn of African History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
Specialist papers from 1958 radio presentation offer a coherent overview of African prehistory and history by leading experts, includes an overview of Great Zimbabwe.
173. Pachai, B., editor. *The Early History of Malawi*. London: Longman, 1971.
General comprehensive history written with specialist contributions on the Iron Age and subsequent events.
174. Sherrat, A., editor. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
Excellent broad based and general introduction to prehistory world wide. Articles by Phillipson on the Early Iron Age and spread of Bantu-speaking peoples, Garlake on African states, and Shaw on the origins of African agriculture.
175. Shinnie, P. L., editor. *The African Iron Age*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
Essays by regional specialists surveying the archaeology of later prehistory throughout the continent, including Fagan on south central Africa.

Conference and Symposium Reports

176. Anonymous, compiler. *Historians in Tropical Africa: Proceedings of the Leverhulme Inter-collegiate History Conference*. Salisbury: University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962.
Specialist papers from a multi-disciplinary meeting at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, September 1960. Theory and methodology of working with central African resources and archaeological and historical syntheses from current investigations. Includes history of eastern and western Africa as well as the subcontinent.
177. Bishop, W. W., and J. D. Clark, editors. *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
Specialist papers, displaying the state of archaeological research throughout the continent in the early 1960s. Pagan's and Summer's contributions summarize Iron Age studies in the subcontinent. Nenquin and Posnansky do the same for east Africa and the Zaire river basin.
178. Chittick, H. N., and R. I. Rotberg, editors. *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-colonial Times*. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1975.
Specialist papers relating the pre-colonial history and archaeology of the East African coast and Madagascar, from traditional and archaeological sources.
179. Clark, J. D., and S. A. Brandt, editors. *From Hunters to Farmers: The Causes and Consequences of Food Production in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
Specialist papers describing the results on the archaeological investigation of intensive gathering, pastoralist and early farming economies on the continent.
180. Clark, J. D., and S. Cole, editors. *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957.
Collection of international specialist papers with a local emphasis on south central African archaeology, includes important papers by Walton, Hodges and Schofield.
181. Cruz e Silva, T. da, et al., editors. *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigaco Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro

de Estudios Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976.

Excellent set of research papers by a number of young investigators exploring otherwise unreported areas of Southeast Africa. Good introduction to the potential of Iron Age studies in Mozambique.

182. Ehret, C., and M. Posnansky, editors. *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Areal specialists explore the evidence for the early Iron Age settlement of different regions of sub-Saharan Africa from evidence of archaeology and historical linguistics. For southern and eastern Africa, see essays of Ehret, Soper and Collet.

183. Gabel, C., and J. Bennett, editors. *Reconstructing African Culture*. Boston: Boston University Press, 1967.

Specialist papers emphasizing resources and methodology of African studies, includes excellent article by Clark.

184. Gray, R., and D. Birmingham, editors. *Pre-colonial African Trade*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Regional specialist essays describe the commodities and process of traditional trade in central and eastern Africa before 1900.

185. Hall, M. L., et al., editors. *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984.

Edited volume of areal specialist papers, detailing the state of the archaeological study of farming communities in southern Africa.

186. Harlan, J. R., J. M. J. de Wet, and A. Stemler, editors. *Origins of African Plant Domestication*. The Hague: Mouton, 1976.

Excellent set of specialist reports surveying recent research, archaeological and botanical, on the question of agricultural origins in Africa.

187. Hitchcock, R. R., and M. R. Smith, editors. *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982.

Collection of specialist papers, of which the first two sections present the precolonial setting.

188. Hugot, H. J., editor. *Sixieme Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire: Dakar 1967*. Chambéry: Imprimeries Reunies, 1973.

Collected specialist papers from international congress.

189. Ki-Zerbo, J., editor. *Methodology and African Prehistory*. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981.

Specialist essays published as volume 1 of the Unesco *General History of Africa*. Provides an introduction to the theory and method of recent African studies as well as a significant set of introductions to the Stone Age sequences in major regions of the continent. The chapters on historical geography provide a useful background to the growth of the later more complex economies and societies of sub-Saharan Africa.

190. Klein, R. G., editor. *South African Prehistory and Palaeoenvironments*. Rotterdam: Balkema, 1984.

Specialist papers selected and arranged to produce comprehensive coverage of southern African prehistory, emphasizes foraging strategies, with an excellent introduction to the early farming communities in the subcontinent.

191. Leakey, R. E., and B. A. Ogot, editors. *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, Nairobi 1977*. Nairobi: The International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980.

Edited selection of specialist papers. Section VIII, edited by D.W. Phillipson and G. Souville, explores Iron Age technology, economy and archaeology. Section IX, edited by B.A. Ogot and P.L. Shinnie, explores trade in the later Iron Age and African contacts with the outside world.

192. Megaw, J. V., editor. *Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers Beyond Europe*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977.

Specialist papers summarizing archaeological and related evidence on development and spread of food-producing technologies.

193. Mortelmans, G., and J. Nenquin, editors. *Actes du IVe Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire et de L'etude du Quaternaire: Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Tervuren: Koninklijk museum voor midden Africa, 1962.

Specialist papers from international congress with a strong blend of material from southern Zaire.

194. Ranger, T. O., editor. *Aspects of Central African History*. London: Heinemann, 1968.

Collection of specialist accounts of traditional and colonial period political history.

195. Robertshaw, P., editor. *A History of African Archaeology*. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1990.
Regional specialist accounts of the historical development of archaeological research in selected areas of the continent.
196. Sinclair, P. J. J., and J. A. Rakotoarsioa, editors. *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa: Proceedings of the 1989 Madagascar Workshop*. Stockholm: The Central Board of National Antiquities, 1990.
Edited compilation of papers by regional specialists based on their ongoing field work in Madagascar, Mozambique, Kenya, Zimbabwe and Botswana.
197. Stokes, E., and R. Brown, editors. *The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966.
Specialist essays on the history and politics of the indigenous peoples of Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe. An evaluation of the state of Iron Age studies in central Africa in early 1960s in introduction. An excellent introduction to the customary political structures in African society.
198. Sutton, J. E. G., editor. "History of African Agricultural Technology and Field Systems." *Azania* 24 (1989): 1—122.
Edited selection of specialist papers.
199. Thompson, L., editor. *African Societies in Southern Africa*. New York: Praeger, 1969. 336 pp.
Specialist archaeological, cultural and historical studies relating to what the editor terms the forgotten element in southern African history: the history of the indigenous people, emphasis on traditional sources of history, with essays by Fagan and Phillipson on the Iron Age, from archaeology.
200. van der Merwe, N. J., and T. N. Huffman, editors. *Iron Age Studies in Southern Africa*. Claremont, Cape: South African Archaeological Society, Goodwin Series 3, 1979.
Excellent set of specialist papers reporting current archaeological field investigations.
201. Vansina, J., R. Mauny, and L. V. Thomas, editors. *The Historian in Tropical Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1964.
Excellent wide-ranging collection of specialist papers emphasizing research problems, different orientations and the availability of resources. Papers combine the analyses of specific problems,

archaeological syntheses and historical studies, in English and French with summaries. Excellent introduction to a number of customary African states.

Origins, Technology and Spread of Agriculture

Some problems which are intimately interconnected are the source of the Bantu languages of southern Africa, the initiation of agricultural economies in sub-Saharan Africa, their expansion onto the southern savanna and the formation of Early Iron Age communities in the south. The following list samples a variety of resources relating to these matters.

Agricultural Techniques and Practices

Ecological Effects

202. Hall, M. L. "Man's Historical and Traditional Use of Fire in Southern Africa." *Ecological Effects of Fire in South African Ecosystems*. Ed. P. de V. Booysen and N. M. Tainton. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1984. 39—52.

Summary overview of the archaeological and other evidence for the traditional uses of fire in field preparation by the reduction of phytomass and the subsequent maintenance of agricultural regimens.

203. Marker, M. E., and T. M. Evers. "Iron Age Settlement and Soil Erosion in the Eastern Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 31 (1976): 153-65.

Illustrated discussion of the Iron Age sites in the Lydenburg area, testing the hypothesis that altered land-use patterns of farming communities increased erosion rates. Concludes that this hypothesis is acceptable and that Iron Age settlements patterns were affected thereby.

Pastoralism and Cattle Ranging

204. Mtetwa, R. M. G. "Myth or Reality: The "Cattle Complex" in Southeastern Africa, with Particular Reference to Rhodesia." *Zambezia* 6 (1978): 23-35.
Critical analysis of concept of a southeastern Bantu cattle complex, which implies a related set of cultural structures.
205. Phillipson, D. W. "The First South African Pastoralists and the Early Iron Age." *NSI* 6 (1989): 127-34.
Review of recent evidence of the introduction of domestic animals into the subcontinent.
206. Robertshaw, P., and D. P. Collett. "A New Framework for the Study of Early Pastoral Communities in East Africa." *Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 289—301.
Interpretative model, discussing cattle-ranging peoples of eastern Africa. Posits pastoralism as ideological system rather than as a subsistence strategy.

[Land-use Patterns](#)

207. Harris, D. R. "Swidden Systems and Settlements." *Settlement and Urbanism*. Ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby. London: Duckworth, 1972. 245-62.
Detailed expert discussion of the mechanics of swiddening regimens and their effect on settlement patterns.
208. Jones, P. "Mobility and Migration in Traditional African Farming and Iron Age Models." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 289-96.
Survey from anthropological sources of the social and cultural motivations for the movement of site loci in farming cultures.
209. Smith, P. E. L. "Land-use, Settlement Patterns and Subsistence Agriculture: A Demographic Perspective." *Settlement and Urbanism*. Ed. P.J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby. London: Duckworth, 1972. 409-25.
The effect of different land-use patterns on settlement density and spatial organization of farming populations.

Ethnographic Observations

210. Allan, W. *The African Husbandman*. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1965.
Standard reference to agricultural conditions and practices of traditional farmers.
211. Lancaster, C. S. *The Goba of the Zambezi: Sex Roles, Economics, and Change*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.
Detailed economic anthropological study of the organization of a traditional society and production in southern Zambia.
212. Moran, E. F. "An Introduction to African Agriculture." *Studies in Third World Societies* 8 (1979): 1—14.
Excellent introduction to the history, diversity and effects of agricultural systems in sub-Saharan Africa.
213. Scudder, T. *The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962.
Authoritative and comprehensive description of traditional social ecology of a southern Zambian group.

Settlement Systems in Southern Zambia

214. Vogel, J. O. "Microenvironments, Swidden and the Early Iron Age Settlement of Southwestern Zambia." *Azania* 22 (1986): 85-97.
Collates succession of Early Iron Age settlement systems in southwestern Zambia. Posits disrupted pattern of the initial settlement by ecological model positing the management of a slash-and-burn agricultural ecosystem.
215. Vogel, J. O. "Subsistence Settlements in the Prehistory of Southwestern Zambia." *Human Ecology* 14 (1986): 397—414.
Describes spatial arrangements of Early Iron Age and later traditional settlement aggregates in the Victoria Falls Region. Suggests that changes in settlement pattern reflect changes in pattern of management, stabilization and localization of slash-and-burn cultivation regimens over time.
216. Vogel, J. O. "Iron Age Farmers in Southwestern Zambia: Some Aspects of Spatial Organization." *African Archaeological Review* 5 (1987): 159-70.

Geographical arrangement of a set of settlement aggregates in southwestern Zambia. While Early Iron Age settlements concentrate compactly within a single microenvironment at any one time, post-12th-century ones are spread over a broader area and occupy several microenvironments at the same time. Posits some social-ecological advantages gained by traditional modes of land tenure and catde management.

The Initiation of Food Production

217. Clark, J. D. "A Record of Early Agriculture and Metallurgy in Africa from Archaeological Sources." *Reconstructing African Culture*. Ed. C. Gabel and N. R. Bennett. Boston: Boston University Press, 1967. The foundations of Iron Age economies and their spread into the subcontinent.
218. Harlan, J. R. "The Origins of Indigenous African Agriculture." *The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol. 1 from the Earliest Times to C. 500 B.C.* Ed. J. D. Clark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 624-57.
Summary of botanical and other evidence of the beginnings of agricultural production in sub-Saharan Africa.
219. Harlan, J. R., J. M. J. de Wet, and A. Stemler. "Origins of African Plant Domestication." *Origins of African Plant Domestication*. Ed. J. R., Harlan, J. M.J. de Wet and A. Stemler. The Hague: Mouton, 1976. Excellent introduction to the origins of agricultural production in Africa.
220. Mauny, R. "L'afrique et les Origines de la Domestication." *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Ed. W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 583-99.
Survey of the evidence for the beginnings of food production in Africa generally. Suggests that Africa played little part in domestication; that continent a recipient of development elsewhere.
221. McIntosh, S. K., and R. McIntosh. "Current Directions in West African Prehistory." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 12 (1983): 215-58.
A comprehensive and important overview of the archaeology and evidence for the beginnings of food production in sub-Saharan Africa.

Marked emphasis on the domestication process among sub-Saharan groups as paramount to the initiation of food production on the continent 222. Phillipson, D. W. "Early Food Production in Sub-Saharan Africa." *The Cambridge History of Africa. Vol. 1 from the Earliest Times to C. 500 B.C.* Ed. J. D. Clark. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. 770—829.

Summary of the archaeological evidence relating to origin and spread of agricultural production in sub-Saharan Africa.

223. Phillipson, D. W. "Early Food-production in Central and Southern Africa." *From Hunters to Farmers*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. A. Brandt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. 272-80.

Comprehensive review of evidence from linguistics and archaeology related to the origins of food production in the subcontinent.

224. Porter, R., and J. Barrau. "Origins, Development and Expansion of Agricultural Techniques." *Methodology and African Prehistory*. Ed. J. Ki-Zerbo. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 687—705.

Illustrated introduction to the macroecozones of the African continent and the evidence supporting the arguments for the different centers of development of agriculture within the continent. Provides important additional data on the development of native African plant foods derived from field investigations on the northern savanna.

225. Shaw, T. "Early Agriculture in Africa." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 6 (1972): 143—91.

A very detailed survey of available evidence on the development of food-production. Excellent bibliography.

226. Shaw, T. "Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers in West Africa." *Hunters, Gatherers and First Farmers Beyond Europe*. Ed. J. V. Megaw. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1977. 69—125.

A detailed and comprehensive survey of the archaeological and botanical evidence for the inception of agricultural production in Africa.

227. Wrigley, C. "Speculations on the Economic Prehistory of Africa." *Journal of African History* 1 (1960): 189—203.

Detailed survey of data pertinent to the history of African agricultural systems from a variety of sources. Posits the origin, development and spread of agricultural technologies.

The Spread of Food Production to the South

The introduction of food producing communities into the southern African subcontinent has been studied in two ways, historical linguistics and field archaeology. The following listing reflects these different approaches and the attempts to reconcile two very different bodies of information.

228. David, N. "Prehistory and Historical Linguistics in Central Africa: Points of Contact." *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Ed. C. Ehret and M. Posnansky. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 78-95.
Summary discussion of evidence, archaeological and linguistic, of the distribution of major cultural-linguistic groups in eastern and southern Africa. Pp. 91-95, the distribution of Bantu-speakers.
229. Ehret, C. "The First Spread of Food Production to Southern Africa." *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Ed. C. Ehret and M. Posnansky. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 158-81.
Reconstruction of the spread of food production into southern Africa from the evidence of historical linguistics.
230. Ehret, C. "The East African Interior." *Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century*. Ed. M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1988. 616—42.
Reconstruction of early history of the settlement of eastern Africa from linguistic and other sources.
231. Greenburg, J. H. "Linguistic Evidence Regarding Bantu Origins." *Journal of African History* 13 (1972): 189-216.
Suggests from linguistic analysis that the point of origin for the earliest Bantu speakers should be in an area of great linguistic diversity rather than one with comparative homogeneity. See Oliver, following, for a different point of view.
232. Oliver, R. A. "The Problem of the Bantu Expansion." *Journal of African History* 7 (1966): 361-76.
Survey article from primary sources. Suggests a four-stage model for the spread of Bantu speakers throughout eastern and southern Africa. Posits that the Bantu expansion may be correlated with the introduction

of Iron Age communities into the subcontinent and suggests the importance of archaeological research in unravelling the mystery of the Bantu expansion.

233. Oliver, R. A. "Language and Food Production in the Late Stone Age." *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 465-68.

Review article of the Ehret and Posnansky (1982) edited symposium volume on the archaeological and linguistic reconstruction of African history.

234. Oliver, R. A., and B. M. Fagan. "The Emergence of Bantu Africa." *The Cambridge History of Africa. Volume 2 from C. 500 B.C. to a.d. 1050*. Ed. J. D. Fage. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978. 342—409.

Survey from archaeological and historical sources relating the beginnings of Iron Age society in sub-Saharan Africa and its spread to the southern subcontinent.

235. Phillipson, D. W. "Archaeology and Bantu Linguistics." *World Archaeology* 8 (1976): 65-82.

Summary of archaeological evidence related to the inflow of Bantu-speaking peoples into southern Africa. Suggests that the archaeological data presents a congruence with a model for the spread of the Bantu language developed by Ehret.

236. Phillipson, D. W. "The Spread of the Bantu Language." *Scientific American* 236 (1977): 106-14.

Illustrated, maps and views of early pottery. The spread of Early Iron Age pottery makers and speakers of Bantu languages, reconstructing from archaeological sources a progressive dispersal of Bantu speakers into the subcontinent.

237. Phillipson, D. W. "The Beginnings of the Iron Age in Southern Africa." *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Ed. G. Mokhtar. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 671—92

Illustrated general summary of the evidence for the extension of farming communities throughout southern Africa.

238. Phillipson, D. W. "Bantu-speaking People in Southern Africa: An Archaeological Perspective." *Les Peuples Bantu Migrations, Expansion et Identite Culturelle*. Ed. T. Obenga. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1989. 145—64.

Detailed statement of available archaeological sources on the Early Iron Age in south central and southern Africa.

239. Posnansky, M. "Bantu Genesis—Archaeological Reflexions." *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 1-11.

Illustrated interpretation of the archaeological evidence in support of current hypotheses on the early history of Bantu settlement of the subcontinent.

240. Posnansky, M. "Introduction to the Later Prehistory of Sub-Saharan Africa." *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Ed. G. Mohktar. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 533—50.

Illustrated introduction to the Iron Age of sub-Saharan Africa. Essay divides into a section on the role of archaeology and another on the role linguistics plays in uncovering significant information. Discusses the importance of iron and agriculture to the spread of Bantu-speaking populations, early in the modern era.

241. Soper, R. "Bantu Expansion Into Eastern Africa: Archaeological Evidence." *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Eds. C. Ehret and M. Posnansky. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 223—38.

Survey of ceramic evidence from the Early Iron Age in eastern Africa with discussion of stylistic continuities, spatial connectivities and temporal ordering suggestive of a pattern of spread of early pottery makers.

242. van Noten, F., D. Cahen, and P. de Maret, collaborators. "Central Africa." *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Ed. G. Mohktar. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 620-38.

General illustrated synthesis of the prehistory of francophone central Africa, reviewing the data for the Early Iron Age.

243. Vansina, I. "Western Bantu Expansion." *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 129-45.

Summary article derived from varied ethnographic, archaeological and linguistic sources. Presents an ecological model for the spread of western Bantu speakers into central Africa.

244. Vansina, J. "Equatorial Africa and Angola: Migrations and the Emergence of the First States." *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. D. T. Niane. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984. 551-77.

Illustrated summary introduction to the later Iron Age and the origins and development of complex societies in the Zaire river basin.

245. Vogel, J. O. "On the Early Evidence of Agriculture in Southern Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 10 (1969): 524—25.

Botanical evidence from early settlements in the Victoria Falls region. Posits earliest subsistence settlements possess mixed farming economies.

A Pre-European Introduction of Maize?

246. Jeffreys, M. D. W. "Pre-Columbian Maize in Southern Africa." *Nature* 215 (1967): 695-97.

Comments on older Portuguese suggestions that maize was already present in southern Africa in the 16th century. Posits an introduction to the African coast from Arab sources and a subsequent transfer into the interior by Africans. Posits that maize was in Africa prior to Columbus's voyages to America.

247. Jeffreys, M. D. W. "Who Introduced Maize into Southern Africa?" *South African Journal of Science* 63 (1967): 24—40.

Collates documentary evidence supporting the contention that maize was brought to the India Ocean coasts by Arabs prior to 1400 and into southern Africa by the Nguni by 1400. Posits that no evidence suggests that maize was first introduced by the Portuguese and that the Dutch only initiated maize cultivation in the 17th century.

Some Traditional History and Practices

Traditional History on the Plateau

The latter years of the complex chiefdoms in south central Africa were recorded, in part, by Arab and Portuguese chroniclers. Another important source of information on the traditional polities of the plateau is the African chronicle of their own oral histories. The following list samples the interpretation of that oral record as well as some ethnographic observations relevant to the traditional lifeways of the plateau.

Zimbabwe

248. Abraham, D. P. "The Monomatapa Dynasty." *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)* 36 (1959): 59-84.
Excellent illustrated and referenced political history of the customary Shona state from traditional and other sources.
249. Abraham, D. P. "Maramuca: An Exercise in the Combined Use of Portuguese Records and Oral Traditions." *Journal of African History* 2 (1961): 211-25.
A summary history of the Monomatapa chieftaincy of southern Zambezia.
250. Abraham, D. P. "The Early Political History of the Kingdom of Mwene Mutapa (850-1589)." *Historians in Tropical Africa*. Ed. Anonymous. Salisbury: University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962. 61-91.
History of the florescent Shona state drawn from traditional African and European sources. Detailed historical reconstruction from the migration of the proto-Vakaranga from the shores of Lake Tanzania to south central Africa until recent times. Extensive notes.

251. Abraham, D. P. "Ethno-history of the Empire of Mutapa, Problems and Methods." *The Historian in Tropical Africa*. Ed. J. Vansina, R. Mauny, and L. V. Thomas. London: Oxford University Press, 1964. 104—26.
History of the Mutapa empire from traditional sources, archaeology and other historical data. Emphasizes problems and methodologies in reconstructing history in south central Africa. Describes available historical and archaeological resources.
252. Alpers, E. "The Mutapa and Malawi Political Systems to the Time of the Ngoni Invasions." *Aspects of Central African History*. Ed. T. O. Ranger. London: Heinemann, 1968. 1—28.
Examination of the political structure of central African customary states from traditional sources. Emphasizes role of Great Zimbabwe as a religious center in the formation of the Zimbabwean state.
253. Alpers, E. "Dynasties of the Mutapa-Rozwi Complex." *Journal of African History* 11 (1970): 203-20.
Detailed discussion of the ruling dynasties, the interrelationships between elite lineages and their chronologies.
254. Beach, D. N. *The Shona and Zimbabwe: 900-1850*. New York: Africana Publishing Co., 1980.
Detailed and comprehensive history of the Shona-speaking people of north east Zimbabwe based on field investigations of archaeological and historical sources.
255. Beach, D. N. "The Zimbabwe Plateau and Its People." *History of Central Africa, Vol. 1*. Ed. D. Birmingham and P. M. Martin. London and New York: Longman, 1983. 245—96.
Survey, from archaeological and traditional viewpoint, of the history of early Shona state formation.
256. Bhila, H. H. K. *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: The Manyika and Their African and Portuguese Neighbors 1575-1902*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1982.
Detailed historical study of the role played by management of trade in a customary African society. Begins with the period of a florescent Mwene Mutapa kingdom.
257. Birmingham, D. "Society and Economy Before a.d. 1400." *History of Central Africa, Vol 1*. Ed. D. Birmingham and P. M. Martin. London and New York: Longman, 1983. 1-29.
Illustrated introduction to the history of the customary societies of

central Africa. Surveys the inception of the Iron Age and the development of traditional societies, within an area, which includes Zimbabwe, Zambia and Zaire.

258. Matthews, T. I. "Portuguese, Chikunda, and the Peoples of the Lower Gwembe Valley: The Impact of the 'Lower Zambezi Complex' on Southern Zambia." *Journal of African History* 22 (1981): 23-41.

Examines 16th- to 17th-century history of African-Portuguese contacts and their effect upon the people of the Gwembe valley.

259. Maylam, P. *A History of the African People of South Africa: From the Early Iron Age to the 1970s*. London: Croom Helm, 1986.

General history of southern Africa emphasizing the history of the indigenous people, drawn from primary sources.

260. Merensky, A. "Ueber die Afrikanische Völkerwanderung des 16. Jahrhunderts." *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 18 (1883): 67-75.

Traditional and conventional historical sources used to posit a 16th-century expansion of the Shagga from the headwaters of Zambezi and Zaire rivers, which drove the predecessors of the present tribes of southern Africa southwards. Suggests the Shagga are forerunners of the Galla and that these events were destructive to the African cultures they encountered.

Malawi

261. Newitt, M. D. D. "The Early History of the Maravi." *Journal of African History* 23 (1982): 145-62.

Summary article examining the evidence of the early history of the Maravi chieftaincies of northern Malawi. Suggests their formation in the 16th and 17th century. Explores their interaction with the Portuguese.

Zaire

262. Boxer, C. R. "The Old Kingdom of the Congo." *The Dawn of African History*. Ed. R. Oliver. London: Oxford University Press, 1961. 75-81.

History of customary states in the Zaire basin.

263. Vansina, J. *Kingdoms of the Savanna*. Madison, Milwaukee and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968.

The classic reconstruction of the precolonial history of the complex chiefdoms of the Kongo, the Luba, Lunda, the Lozi, and the Kingdom of Cazembe of the Zaire basin. Methodologies for assessing African histories from traditional oral sources and detailed historical surveys from archaeological, ethnographic and linguistic evidence.

Some Traditional Cultural Practices

Territorial and Ancestral Cults

Rights to land tenure, authority and regulation of society occurs through reference to an affiliation with ancestral spirits. The concept of owners of the land is an important bulwark of traditional politics.

264. Abraham, D. P. "The Roles of 'Chaminuka' and the *Mhondoro*-cults in Shona Political History." *The Zambesian Past*. Ed. E. Stokes and R. Brown. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966. 28-46.

Examination of traditional rationales structuring leadership in the customary Shona political system. *Mhondoro* are described as a class of territorially specific ancestor-spirits who perpetuate the status and personality of the founder. Discusses the importance of spirit-mediums in legitimating the passage of authority to a new leader upon the death of an older one. Associates the Mwari cult of a higher spirit with the Great Zimbabwe as the capital of the Rozwi polity and its function in validating the authority of a centralized authority.

265. Kopytoff, I. "Ancestors as Elders." *Africa* 41.1 (1971): 129—40.

The role of ancestors in the regulation of society. Senior lineage members acting as surrogates for the ancestors regulate the behavior of the more junior members.

266. Lancaster, C. S. "The Zambezi Goba Ancestral Cult." *Africa* 47.3 (1977): 229-41.

Description of the social regulating mechanism of a ancestral cult based

on the premise that "Active" junior kinsmen are subject to satisfying the expectations of deceased elder kinsmen through the mediation of living "elder" kinsmen. Begins with an account of the Goba of northeast Mashonaland and southern Zambia and their relationship to the Shona confederacy back to the Zimbabwean culture of the 15th century.

267. Ranger, T. "Territorial Cults in the History of Central Africa." *Journal of African History* 14 (1973): 581-97.

Describes the general pattern of central African territorial cults instituting the veneration of spirits associated with specific land areas or territories rather than kin or lineage groupings. Function of these is to assure the well-being of the population of the region. Associated with activities like rain making, soil fertility and successful hunting or fishing.

[Carved Soapstone Birds of Great Zimbabwe](#)

The carved soapstone birds once set atop some of the walls at Great Zimbabwe were first located by W. Posselt in 1889 and described and illustrated in Berlin in 1890 when the question was the kind of bird portrayed. Although members of *Berliner Gesellschaft* thought them parrots, subsequent investigators have decided differently and placed such bird figures within the world view of African culture as symbols of the mediating role of customary chiefs.

268. Anonymous. "The Zimbabwe Exhibition: Mystery of Soapstone Carvings." *The Times* 7 April 1930, 17.

Opening of the Zimbabwe exhibition at the British Museum and the materials displayed. Explains the significance of Great Zimbabwe and the carvings. Photographs of the soapstone carvings on p. 18.

269. Dicke, B. H. "The Lightning Bird and Other Analogies and Traditions Connecting the Bantu with the Zimbabwe Ruins." *South African Journal of Science* 28 (1931): 505—11.

Ethnographic evidence suggesting continuities between the circumstances at Great Zimbabwe and traditional African culture. Suggests that carved soapstone birds are talismans against lightning strikes. Analogies to other African traditions and crafts in the interpretation of features at Great Zimbabwe,

270. Garbutt, H. W. "Native Witchcraft and Superstition in South Africa." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 39 (1909): 530-58.
Illustrated summary discussion from ethnographic accounts arranged regionally, emphasis on diviner's dice. On pp. 542—543 bird figure carved on stone beam at Great Zimbabwe is shown in photograph.
271. Huffman, T. N. "Soapstone Birds from Great Zimbabwe." *African Arts* 18 (1985): 68-73.
Excellent illustrated catalog of the soapstone bird carvings along with a history of their discovery and removal from the site. Constructs the iconic values expressed by such carvings and stresses their role in organizing the Shona world view and the structuring of the customary social order. Emphasizes the unique occurrence of such carvings at Great Zimbabwe.
272. Walton, J. "The Soapstone Birds of Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 10 (1955): 78—84.
Illustrated inventory of carved soapstone birds from Great Zimbabwe. Posits two kinds: naturalistic birds of the eagle type and conventionalized birds. Draws analogy to other carved figures in traditional African culture.
273. Walton, J. "Some Features of the Monomatapa Culture." *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. Cole, London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 336—56.
Excellent illustrated discussion of the distribution and African origins of several features, including monoliths, gongs, soapstone birds and bowls and the style of copper ingots to demonstrate their place in traditional lifeways in southern Africa. Argues that the florescent culture of the subcontinent was a fusion of two sets of cultural influences; the earliest, marked by soapstone carvings, copper ingots and a specific style of pottery, originated among the Hima-Galla people of southern Ethiopia and penetrated south into Zambezia about 1400. A later complex had a west African origin reaching Zimbabwe, via southwest Zaire, after 1560.

[Iron Gongs](#)

274. Vansina, J. "The Bells of Kings." *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 187-97.
Illustrated survey of the iconic role of iron gongs and bells, marking kingship in African customary society.
275. Walton, J. "Iron Gongs from the Congo and Southern Rhodesia." *Man* 55 (1955): Article 30.
Illustrated description of iron gongs as symbols of chieftainship from literary and archaeological sources. Describes iron gongs and bells located at the different zimbabwes.

[The Mwari Cult](#)

276. Daneel, M. L. *The God of the Matopos: An Essay on the Mwari Cult in Rhodesia*. The Hague: Mouton, 1970.
Detailed anthropological investigation of the Shona belief in a senior god, Mwari. Introduces subject with a brief discussion of the relationship of the worship of Mwari to the 15th-century attempt by the Rozvi rulers to unify the area from their headquarters at Great Zimbabwe.
277. Bucher, H. *Spirits and Power: An Analysis of Shona Cosmology*. Ed. Cape Town. Oxford University Press, 1980.
Detailed anthropological analysis of the Shona world view and its role in structuring society.

[Rainmaking](#)

278. Aukema, J. "Rainmaking: A Thousand Year-old Ritual." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 44 (1989): 70-72.
Rainmaking rituals in southern Africa from field observation and ethnographic accounts. Suggests that some pottery found in otherwise uninhabited caves was used there during rainmaking rites. An illustrated obituary by Huffman, *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 45 (1990): 117—119, has an outline survey of Aukema's unpublished data and interpretations.

279. Klapwijk, M. "Pot- and Pit-burials from the North-eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 44 (1989): 65-69. Illustrated description of field investigation of a series of disarticulated skeletons found buried in clay pots. Posits from ethnographic sources that they represent human sacrifice as a part of traditional rainmaking rites.
280. Mahachi, G. "Ecological Perspectives in the Study of Some Iron Age Shona Mortuary Practises." *Nyatne Akuma* 28 (1987): 51— 53. Archaeological and ethnographic observations analyzed toward positing an association between Shona chiefly burial sites and rainmaking activities.

Burial Practices

281. Holleman, J. F. "Accommodating the Spirit Amongst Some North-eastern Shona Tribes." *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 22. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1953. The only available reliable description of the traditional procedures attending preparation of the corpse and burial.

Regional Syntheses in South Central Africa

Zimbabwe

282. Schofield, J. F. "A Survey of the Recent Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 38 (1942): 81—111.
Illustrated comprehensive summary of the later prehistory of Zimbabwe. References to the local ethnography and archaeology. Extensive bibliography, descriptions of important sites and material culture. Interprets the archaeological sequences.
283. Summers, R. F. H. "Iron Age Cultures in Southern Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 47 (1950): 95-107.
Illustrated synthesis of archaeological and historical evidence reconstructing Iron Age culture history and the prehistoric sequence in Zimbabwe. Describes characteristic material culture with maps showing the distribution of significant classes of ceramics and prehistoric mines.
284. Summers, R. F. H. "Environment and Culture in Southern Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 104 (1960): 266-92.
Summary discussion of the sequence and distribution of archaeological cultures in Zimbabwe.
285. Summers, R. F. H. "The Southern Rhodesian Iron Age: A Reassessment After Ten Year's Work." *Proceedings of the First Federal Science Conference* 1 (1960): 431-39.
Summary discussion and classification of the substance and sequence of Iron Age materials in Zimbabwe. Posits three cultural complexes: earliest, mining and building. Outlines the investigations of the 1950s and presents an updated appraisal of the state of knowledge of the archaeology.
286. Summers, R. F. H. "The Southern Rhodesian Iron Age: First Approximations to the History of the Last 200 Years." *Journal of*

African History 2 (1961): 1-13.

Summary and interpretation of the Zimbabwean Iron Age sequence.

287. Summers, R. F. H. "The Iron Age of Southern Rhodesia." *Current Anthropology* 7 (1966): 463-69.

A summary and interpretation of the Zimbabwean Iron Age, divides the evidence into two parallel sequences, an earlier one from the 4th-19th centuries and later one from the 10th-19th centuries.

288. Summers, R. F. H. "Iron Age Industries of Southern Africa, with Notes on Their Chronology, Terminology, and Economic Status." *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Ed. W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 687-700.

Comprehensive overview of Iron Age cultures and research in Zimbabwe as of the mid-1960s.

[Mashonaland](#)

289. Huffman, T. N. "A Guide to the Iron Age of Mashonaland."

Occasional Papers of the National Museums of Rhodesia 4.1 (1971): 20-44.

Illustrated survey of the Iron Age sequence in northwestern Zimbabwe, and the foundation of the Zimbabwe Culture. Plans of Portuguese sites.

[Zambia](#)

290. Fagan, B. M. "The Iron Age of Zambia ." *Current Anthropology* 7 (1966): 453-62.

Illustrated history of research and preliminary data from archaeological investigations into the Iron Age in Zambia.

291. Phillipson, D. W. *The Iron Age in Zambia*. Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd., 1975.

A thorough, though popularly oriented, survey of geographically defined groups of Early Iron Age pottery with a wide ranging synthesis of the Zambian Iron Age and an account of traditional iron mining and smelting.

[The Early Iron Age](#)

292. Phillipson, D. W. "The Early Iron Age in Zambia: Regional Variants and Some Tentative Conclusions." *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 191-211.

Using perceived differences in the style of Early Iron Age pottery, defines a series of geographical variants and illustrates their distribution.

[Southern Zambia](#)

293. Fagan, B. M. "The Iron Age Sequence in the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia." *Journal of African History* 4 (1963): 157-77.
The Iron Age sequence in southern Zambia from field investigation. Illustrated description of field research at Situmpa, Lusu, Ingombe Ilede and Kangila, defining Kalomo culture of the Batoka plateau.

294. Fagan, B. M. "The Iron Age Sequence in the Southern Province of Zambia." *Papers in African Prehistory*. Ed. J. D. Fagan and R. A. Oliver. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970. 201—22.

Surveys field research at Iron Age settlements in southern Zambia. Reconstructs the archaeological sequence with particular emphasis on the Kalomo-Choma area. Illustrated.

[Eastern Zambia](#)

295. Phillipson, D. W. "The Prehistoric Succession in Eastern Zambia: A Preliminary Report." *Azania* 8 (1973): 3—24.

The post-middle Stone Age succession of the Eastern Province of Zambia up to the Iron Age, with excavations at the Kamnana Early Iron Age site.

[The Victoria Falls Region](#)

296. Vogel, J. O. "The Early Iron Age (A.D. 500-1100) in the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 17 (1976): 764-65.
Summary of long-term field investigations in the Victoria Falls region of southern Zambia. Sketches the archaeological record for reconstructing earliest village occupations in the region.
297. Vogel, J. O. "The Later Iron Age (A.D. 1100-1600) in the Victoria Falls Region, Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 18 (1977): 96-97.
Summary results of field investigations in the Victoria Falls region of southern Zambia. Outlines the replacement of early populations by groups allied with those already populating the middle Kafue valley and the establishment of a cultural succession leading to the historically known people of the region.

The Kalomo Tradition: A Debate on Origins

298. Huffman, T. N. *Iron Age Migrations*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1989.
Report of archaeological excavations conducted at Gundu and Ndonde in southern Zambia, in the 1960s by Fagan and Huffman. Revises commonly held ideas about the Iron Age sequence in southern Zambia. Emphasizes migration, discounts Vogel's reconstruction of the re-occupation of the Kalomo-Choma middens by people affiliated with the Early Iron Age of the Victoria Falls Region, and traces the beginnings of Kalomo culture to Early Iron Age populations of the Upper Zambezi valley as represented in Vogel's description of the assemblages at Sioma.
299. Vogel, J. O. "The Kalomo Culture of Southern Zambia: Some Notes Toward Reassessment." *Zambia Museums Journal* 1 (1970): 77-88.
In 1967, Fagan described the Iron Age on the Batoka plateau, from Early Iron Age to later times, as a continuous cultural succession: the Kalomo culture. Philipson in 1968 posited that the earliest segment be segregated into an Early Iron Age entity termed the Kalundu group. Vogel suggests that the later part of that succession was ancestral to the style of pottery associated with the historic Tonga, but that the middle of the sequence, and some 11th- to 12th-century sites in the Victoria Falls

Region, be defined as a Kalomo tradition, derived from the Zambezi Valley Early Iron Age.

300. Vogel, J. O. "The Mosioatunya Sequence." *Zambia Museums Journal* 4 (1973): 103-52.

Detailed summary of the Iron Age sequence in the Victoria Falls Region and the archaeological evidence for reconstructing the prehistory in the region and its relationships with other regions in southern Zambia.

Malawi

301. Robinson, K. R. *The Early Iron Age in Malawi: An Appraisal*. Zomba: The Department of Antiquities, Malawi, 1969.

Summary of field investigations in Malawi, along with some tentative conclusions tying the early ceramics of Malawi to the Kwale ware of east Africa, 302. Robinson, K. R. "The Iron Age in Malawi: A Brief

Account of Recent Work." *The Early History of Malawi*. Ed. B. Pachai. London: Longman, 1971. 49—69.

Illustrated archaeological field research, sites and data divided into early and later Iron Age entities within geographical regions.

303. Robinson, K. R. "The Pottery Sequence of Malawi Briefly Compared with That Already Established South of the Zambezi." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 6.18 (1973): 1-12.

Illustrated survey of Malawi pottery sequence, associated finds and possible relationships.

304. Robinson, K. R. "A Note on the Spread of Early Iron Age Ceramics in Malawi: Tentative Suggestions Based on Recent Evidence." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 31 (1976): 166-75.

Illustrated field research in Malawi, suggesting that the Early Iron Age settlement of Malawi was the result of a two-pronged movement of people: one group using the Mwambulambo style of pottery from the north along the shores of Lake Malawi, and a second stream, using the Nkope style of pottery, allied to the Gokomere tradition, from south of the Zambezi valley.

305. Robinson, K. R. "A Review of the Malawi Iron Age Based on Investigations Undertaken During 1975 to 1979." *Zambia Museums*

Journal 6 (1982): 126—50.

Cover page and abstract suggest title should be read as 1965. Illustrated field investigations, history of research, descriptions of cultural stratigraphy and divisions within the Early and later Iron Ages.

South Central Africa, Generally

306. Fagan, B. M. "Iron Age Peoples of Zambia and Malawi." *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Ed. W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 659—86.

A good general survey of the central African Iron Age research, north of the Zambezi. Synthesized from field research and published materials adequately represents the state of archaeology's reconstruction of the Iron Age at the time.

307. Huffman, T. N. "Archaeology and Ethnology of the African Iron Age." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11 (1982): 133—50.

Comprehensive summary melding archaeology and ethnography sources into the debate on the spread of Bantu-speaking people during the Early Iron Age, the transition from Early to later Iron Age and the origins of Zimbabwe Culture.

Huffman and Phillipson: A Short Debate

308. Huffman, T. N. "African Origins." *South African Journal of Science* 75 (1979): 233-37.

Illustrated article reviewing Phillipson, *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*. (1979) below, supplementing Phillipson's data with information from field observations and critiquing his arguments.

309. Phillipson, D. W. *The Later Prehistory of Eastern and Southern Africa*. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1979.

Detailed and authoritative survey of the archaeological evidence of the last 20,000 years in east, central and southern Africa. Represents an important summary of current knowledge within the theoretical context of the author's research and analyses of the formation of food-producing

communities in Africa and the passage of Early Iron Age populations into the subcontinent.

[The Early Iron Age](#)

310. Phillipson, D. W. "Early Iron Using Peoples of Southern Africa." *African Societies in Southern Africa*. Ed. L. Thompson. London: Heinemann, 1969. 24—49.

A summary of the author's analyses of geographical variants of Early Iron Age pottery styles in south central and southern Africa. Continues his arguments for recognizing geographically-specific variants of the Early Iron Age ceramic tradition. Discusses interaction between early food-producers and San foragers. Map of important sites and a list of radiocarbon dates from Iron Age sites.

311. Phillipson, D. W. "The Early Iron Age in Eastern and Southern Africa: A Critical Re-appraisal." *Azania* 11 (1976): 1—23.
Defines two streams of early Bantu-speaking iron-using food-producing migrants into the subcontinent.

[The Later Iron Age](#)

312. Even, T. M., and W. D. Hammond Tooke. "The Emergence of South African Chiefdoms: An Archaeological Perspective." *African Studies* 45 (1986): 37-41.

Survey of archaeological evidence suggesting the growth of social complexity in southern Africa.

313. Fagan, B. M. "Later Iron Age in South Africa." *African Societies in Southern Africa*. Ed. L. Thompson. New York: Praeger, 1969. 50-70.
Surveys the results of archaeology on the later pre-colonial societies of southern Africa. Map indicates location of research to limited to an area from the Soutspanberg to the coast near Durban. Places data available into a geographic framework and describes the major sites and sequences.

Histories of Exploration and Research

The history of European travellers in southern Africa was once a very popular form of narrative. This is not the case today. The reasons for this are obvious. Europeans have lost interest in the dark continent as a sphere of adventure, and the romanticism of the Victorian European hero explorer faded long ago. Currently, excepting a complex personality, like Burton, dark secret lives, like the Bakers, or the frustrations of the Nile search, the marketplace no longer offers the morality plays of adventure beyond the bounds of civilization. The Victorian world did things quite differently and made of travel a heroic quest.

In eastern Africa, where travellers sought the sources of the Nile, expeditions took shape as long lines of bearers toting baggage, setting off to the interior. In the south, the tradition ran to individuals with baggage loaded onto ox-drawn wagons, like Anderson, or small parties, like Mauch. Sometimes they went off to hunt elephants, like Hartley, or prospecting, like Baines. Often, they were destitute during their travels, like Holub, or needed to be carried by their guides, like Livingstone. Some were missionaries, like the Moffats, or adventurers, like Burnham. Some, like Merensky, combined mission work with a search for lost cities. They claimed they ventured alone, even when accompanied by a great many African guides and assistants.

The earliest expeditions seeking to rediscover ruined cities in south central Africa were prompted by accounts in the Portuguese histories. The history of this venture is discussed in Garlake's excellent survey of 1973. D'Anvers and Hibbert, a century apart, tell similar stories, describing the accomplishments and failures of their heroes. D'Anvers is the more complete, since many of his subjects were soon to be forgotten. The enthusiasms of the venture in d'Anver's narrative mirror its time. Nothing produced later quite that matches it. He wrote a companion volume on east African travel. Lacy writes a decade or so past the great vogue for travel in southern Africa. He, nevertheless, memorializes that generation of African travellers. Hibbert's bibliography offers a basic list of original sources. The contemporary journals of the Royal Geographical Society offer a good supply of original travel accounts.

The story of archaeology in the subcontinent is still to be written. Archaeology, for all its long pedigree, has a shorter, though currently active, interest in writing its own history. In the past, researchers in Zambia prefaced their remarks with brief notices of previous, usually scant, research. Otherwise, historians of archaeological research are limited to an article by Derricourt and a regionally specific note by Vogel, both of which are now dated. A recent survey of the history of archaeology in Africa bears no mention of Iron Age studies north of the Zambezi at all.

Until quite recently, Zimbabwe fared little better. There were brief accounts of Mauch and other early visitors to Great Zimbabwe but little about the early archaeologists or the aims of their research, especially before 1900. Research was reported at the time, but seldom is it put in meaningful perspective. An anonymous account of Caton-Thompson and her research does though.

Though Garlake is still the best source of a historical survey of research at Great Zimbabwe, it, too, is feeling its age. Fagan and Summers, both knowledgeable archaeologists, offer fine historical surveys of research at Great Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe, generally, in addition to their other excellent comprehensive surveys of the archaeology. Fagan's writings, though professional, are aimed at a popular audience.

Garlake's accounts of political delusions and peril to archaeological interpretation at Great Zimbabwe during the latter years in Rhodesia and the early days of Zimbabwe illustrate that not only is there political volatility to reconstructions of the past but that changed politics may not always serve the truth. The politics of interpretation in south central Africa is explored more fully, if less personally, by Hall and Trigger, while Ranger and Chimundu explore the collateral influences of colonial politics and attitudes on purportedly neutral decisions of science.

[Histories of Exploration](#)

314. d'Anvers, N. *Heroes of South African Discovery*. London: Marcus Ward and Co., 1878.

Contemporary wide-ranging illustrated history of the European travels

- in southern Africa drawn from varied sources. Brief mention of recent Mauch's travels to Great Zimbabwe and the debate over their origins.
315. Hibbert, C. *Africa Explored: Europeans in the Dark Continent*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1982.
An excellent popular introduction and general history of European travelers in pre-colonial Africa. Chapter 10 recounts Karl Mauch's visit to and impressions of Great Zimbabwe.
316. Lacy, G. "A Century of Exploration in South Africa" *Journal of the African Society* 1 (1901): 215-29.
Concise summary of exploration and travel in the subcontinent. Chronicles travels of the more important Europeans and their adventures.

Histories of Archaeological Research

Themes and Processes in African Archaeology

317. Posnansky, M. "The Societies of Africa South of the Sahara in the Early Iron Age." *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Ed. G. Mohktar. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 718-31.
Delineates themes in the research on Iron Age Africa, while reviewing the significance of mineral exploitation and trade in the development of the cultures of sub-Saharan Africa.
318. Posnansky, M. "African Archaeology Comes of Age." *World Archaeology* 13 (1982): 345-58.
Brief historical survey of current trends in African archaeology. A short notice (p. 347) recounts the on-going debate in Rhodesia over the attribution of Great Zimbabwe to African builders and the political persistence of the idea of exotic and non-African origins.

Histories of Research

319. Anonymous. "Zimbabwe." *Nature* 124 (19 October 1929): 605-607.
History of research and speculation about Great Zimbabwe and Caton-Thompson's research.
320. Bart, H. "Great Zimbabwe: Ruins of an Unknown Negro Civilization." *UNESCO Courier* 12.10 (1959): 10-11.
Illustrated account of speculation about Great Zimbabwe and a history of research.
321. Caton-Thompson, G. "Zimbabwe, All Things Considered." *Antiquity* 38 (1964): 99-102.
History of research at Great Zimbabwe since her own investigations in 1929.
322. Fagan, B. M. "Zimbabwe: A Century of Discovery." *African Arts* 2 (1969): 20-24.
Illustrated popular account of the discovery, research and controversy revolving around Great Zimbabwe.
323. Fagan, B. M. *The Adventure of Archaeology*. Washington, D.C.: The National Geographic Society, 1985.
Extravagandy illustrated historical survey of archaeology. Early archaeology at Great Zimbabwe, pp. 328—332. Places research at Great Zimbabwe in the context of the world's other monumental sites.
324. Summers, R. F. H. "Archaeology in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1955." *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. Eds. J. D. Clark and S. Cole. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 396-411.
Illustrated summary of nearly a half century of archaeological survey and excavation in Zimbabwe. Maps distribution of significant archaeological manifestations by reference to characteristic artifact types or architecture. Summers in 1953 published a full gazetteer of stone walled sites in Zimbabwe.
325. Summers, R. F. H. "Archaeology and History in South Central Africa." *Historians in Tropical Africa*. Ed. Anonymous. Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962. 41—55.
Illustrated summary of resources, expectations and some preliminary results of Iron Age studies in Zimbabwe.
326. Summers, R. F. H. "Forty Years of Progress in Iron Age Studies in Rhodesia: 1929—69." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1970): 95-103.

Historical survey of Iron Age studies in Zimbabwe and their result, updating his previous surveys.

The Intellectual and Political Environment

327. Anonymous. "Editorial." *Antiquity* 45 (1971): 1-2.

Politicization of research and interpretation of Great Zimbabwe in Rhodesia.

328. Chimundu, H. "Early Missionaries and the Ethnolinguistic Factor During the 'Invention of Tribalism' in Zimbabwe." *Journal of African History* 33 (1992): 87—109.

Suggests that some contemporary regional names of tribes, dialects and languages are recent inventions and that apparent ethnic divisions in southern Africa resulted from missionary politics creating regional ethnic identities. There is a growing literature of this subject as in Ranger, T. R. *The Invention of Tribalism in Zimbabwe*. Gwelo, 1985.

329. Garlake, P. S. "Prehistory and Ideology in Zimbabwe." *Africa* 52.3 (1982): 1-19.

Contemporary archaeological investigations at Great Zimbabwe and interpretations of Zimbabwe culture. Critically surveys conceptual model of African culture used by investigators in Rhodesia and force of this conceptual model in motivating and directing study of indigenous culture of the recent past. Portrays the growth of the black nationalist image of the Zimbabwean past and a Rhodesian settlers resistance to archaeological interpretations of the cultural significance of the Zimbabwe sites.

330. Hall, M. L. "Tribes, Traditions and Numbers: The American Model in Southern African Iron Age Studies." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 51-61.

Illustrated critical evaluation of classificatory analyses by Huffman and his students. Suggests analytic theory posits ideas about African tribal life which do not accord with reality and that such ideas about tribalism affect other elements of interpretation as well. Posits that greater subjectivity is possible when classifications are viewed solely as analytical devices dictated by an archaeological problem.

331. Hall, M. L. "The Burden of Tribalism: The Social Context of Southern African Iron Age Studies." *American Antiquity* 49 (1984): 455-67.
Polemical discourse on the social environment in colonial Africa, the growth of archaeology and the investigation and interpretation of recent fanning societies. Contends that archaeology in southern Africa is inherently political.
332. Hall, M. L. "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Interpretations in Southern Africa." *World Archaeology* 15 (1984): 262—73.
Critical historical survey of the use of ceramic classification in African archaeology south of the Zambezi. Contrasts an essentially British usage associated with some researchers prior to the 1960s with an essentially American approach associated with Huffman and his students. Argues that archaeologists tend to reflect the social environment of southern African racial politics in their interpretations of the African past and the traditional life ways, that archaeologists described their finds using a tribal model and pursued attempts to determine tribal history and identities. Sees this as a reenforcement of settler preconceptions of the history of tribal entities in the subcontinent. In the following exchange, Hall and Huffman debate the politics of ceramic analyses.
333. Hall, M. L. "'Hidden History': Iron Age Archaeology in Southern Africa." *A History of African Archaeology*. Ed. P. Robertshaw. Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1990. 59—77.
History of the development of Iron Age studies in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Posits a relationship between the social and political aims of various settler administrations and the interpretation of the archaeological record.
334. Huffman, T. N. "Hypothesis Evaluation: A Reply to Hall." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 57-61.
Illustrated reply to criticism from M. Hall, as described above.
335. Ranger, T. "The Mobilization of Labour and the Production of Knowledge: The Antiquarian Tradition." *Journal of African History* 20 (1979): 507-24.
Critical study of role of native commissioners and their journal *NADA* in the collection, interpretation and dissemination of information on traditional African culture in Rhodesia. Particular concern is given to J. Blake-Thompson as an expert on traditional history and his influence on

the interpretation of Great Zimbabwe and the Mwari cult by Summers. Posits that the Rhodesian antiquarian tradition was useful to the mobilization of African labor into the European economy.

336. Ranger, T. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." *The Invention of Tradition*. Ed. E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. 211-62.

Historical critique of imported customs and invented tradition in structuring the relations between Africans and Europeans during the colonial period in British-ruled Africa. Supplies a backdrop to discussions of the political usages of archaeology in south central Africa during colonial times and the political intentions of the European interpretation and reconstruction of the African past and traditional lifeways.

337. Trigger, B. G. *A History of Archaeological Thought*. New York; Cambridge University Press, 1989.

The fourth section of the fourth chapter, "Racist archaeology in Africa," recounts a history of the discovery, investigation and explication of Great Zimbabwe and role of archaeology in validating the settler world view. Discusses the important excavators and interpreters, and their political environment.

The Search for Ophir—1860—1890

Trigger, surveying the archaeology of Zimbabwe, has written that the Afrikaners, trekking northwards toward the Limpopo and the African-held lands beyond, believed that they were approaching the lands of the bible. It was more than simple fundamentalist faith that lead them to think so. Many of Europe's finest geographers taught that Ophir, the gold land of King Solomon lay there, over the horizon in south east Africa.

Those horizons were in a distant, though not totally foreign, part of the world. Readers of the 1870s understood the Islamic settlements of Africa's east coast as Winwood Reade described them in *The Martyrdom of Man*, published in London in 1872 and never out of print. A 19th-century reader knew the interior of Africa as traversed by Livingstone, whose books were best sellers. They knew grand African kingdoms, visited by Speke and Grant and vividly described by Burton. Accounts of their exploits were carried in the press. The interior regions of Africa were familiar ground to the emergent European middle class, supporting their heroes, pursuing national ascendance.

The Portuguese controlled the coast for over 400 years, mined gold in Manica, and traded gold and other commodities from African potentates of the interior. West of Mozambique lay the Empire of Monomatapa, its name printed on old maps, a lure to the imagination. MacQueen tells of mineral wealth in Manica in the 1860s, and the idea of a southern African eldorado was well established. Prospectors in the Transvaal found gold reefs and scanned the hills northwards toward Mashonaland. The African traveller Beke claimed south east Africa as a heavily mineralized zone, a potential source of gold. The Royal Geographical Society sanctioned Baines to the search.

Far more important than the physical evidence or the repetition of the few morsels of old news of ancient ruins in central Africa was the weight of conventional wisdom, a reliance on documentary authority and the enthusiasm of a unifying idea. Nineteenth-century geographers were driven by the idea of confirming ancient texts and relocating the gold lands of the ancients. For nearly 50 years, this question, the location of the Ophir of Solomon, was central to academic debate. The debate is now long forgotten,

but once meetings of prestigious societies argued the merits of different locations. Not only Africa but southern Arabia, India and new world locations in Mexico and Peru were tested and debated. Columbus had tempted his sponsors with a New World Ophir in the 16th century, Burton, and later Rhodes, would attract investors with a similar delusion in the 19th.

Sir Roderick Murchison before the Royal Geographical Society could seriously suggest the quest was near solution. The literary and geographical journals of the major European scientific communities filled with speculations and rumors about Ophir, Havilah and Tharshish. The impulse to search for Ophir, reconciling geography with documentary testimony, would persist until the beginning of the 20th century, but it was in its fervor in the middle of the 19th. Much energy and intellect was expended. Careers and reputation were built on the presentation of arguments. Maps were scanned, biblical and other ancient hearsay scrutinized, the itineraries and lading of ancient fleets projected, sounds of words plumbed for correspondence with human speech the ancients had never heard. All this academic activity is pretty much forgotten now; the histories of science silent; and many once renowned practitioners unremembered.

Nevertheless, this was one backdrop to journeys to the interior of southern Africa. Travellers may have sought gold or adventure, but they had assurance that their travels took on the aura of a quest. Somewhere in east Africa were fabled sources of the Nile, whose allure enticed classical geographers. And beyond the Limpopo lies another fabulous temptation, lost to the company of civilized nations for three millennia. The search was estimable, melding romance and science, adventure and faith. The search conformed to Victorian ideals of honor. In 1871, a searcher, Karl Mauch reached Great Zimbabwe. His letters from the vicinity of Great Zimbabwe are the first modern description of a valley crowded with circular stone enclosures, a hill top covered by a massive stone-walled building. Mauch withdrew from the area, returned home, and was dead within two years. Great Zimbabwe remained unsurveyed for nearly two decades, while learned and lay alike speculated on the meaning of a ruined city deep in the African bush.

By 1890, Mauch's description of Great Zimbabwe was being doubted, though contemporary maps of southern Africa by Baines and Jeppe represented the area as the realm of the Queen of Sheba or depicted the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. Earlier less incredulity was shown to stories of

discovery coming out the African wilderness. In the middle of the 19th century, people were aware of the tales of a ruined city in the interior of south central Africa. Portuguese reports repeated stories from Arab respondents, and debate over Ophir monotonously reprised these vague clues.

In 1861, the German missionaries Merensky and Nachtigal in the course of their mission activities marched into the country north of the Limpopo, heading in the direction of purported ruins, Merensky, in his biographical writings, discusses the various sources of information from the classic texts and interview on the existence of ruins in the interior north of the Limpopo. Their attempt was thwarted by an outbreak of smallpox, which forced their return to their mission station. Accounts of this journey circulated in South Africa and were published in Britain and South Africa in 1869 and in Germany along with the reports of the Mauch journey by Petermann.

In the meantime, a spurious narrative appeared in South Africa, blending elements of the real Merensky and Nachtigai venture with a fictitious description of Egyptian antiquities in the south African hinterlands. The article was reprinted in Britain twice by George Thompson in 1865 and 1866 and severely castigated by an anonymous German correspondent as a hoax but cited by Murchison as cause to believe that the Gphir puzzle was soon to be solved. It was believed to be reliable narrative and was still circulating to be criticized in 1872. Such was the magic appeal of ruined cities in darkest Africa!

Apparently, this false sighting influenced the writing of the ruined city chapter in *The Ruined Cities of Zululand* published in 1869 by H.M. Walmsley. It describes travels of an English adventurer and a Polish missionary to a lost Egyptian city in the northern Transvaal. Although patently based upon the *Cape and Natal News* account published by Thompson, this book is reviewed as a serious narrative of travel, though once again castigated by the Germans as a humbug. One assumes some nationalist bias in the different treatment, but the handling of these tales of ruined cities in the African bush expresses clearly the aspirations of a time. In 1885, Rider Haggard would find in this narrative the core of his novel, *King Solomon's Mines*, and its ruined city on the plain of Kor, as he would later find in Great Zimbabwe, a prototype for the fictional ruined city in *She*.

Merensky's own witness is consistent as to the facts of his journey, though much of the information he assembled to aid his search was common coin from Portuguese histories and a smattering of lore garnered from African respondents. The story of Mauch journeying north, his stay with Merensky at the time of the Franco-Prussian war and his joy at German unification are expressed in letters published by Petermann. He may have been preceded to Great Zimbabwe by Adam Render, a man who remains a mysterious figure. On 5 September 1871, Mauch reached Great Zimbabwe and over a period of three months was permitted to visit the site three times. There he sketched the buildings, decorations and views of the site. He came to believe that he had indeed discovered the ancient capital of the Queen of Sheba. An erstwhile English companion, St. Vincent Erskine, later attempted to divert some credit to himself, but he is now forgotten. Mauch was seemingly joined by an Englishman, G.A. Phillips, on one occasion. Phillips likened it to other ruins he had seen in the neighborhood. Mauch's sketches and descriptions fueled debate over the identity of the builders during the next two decades. His sketches inspired Baines, who drew Great Zimbabwe without ever visiting the place. Although the debate continued to equate Great Zimbabwe with ancient civilizations, there were those of a different opinion. R. Hartmann of the University of Berlin, citing his own experiences in Africa and drawings published by Hiibner, said that the buildings were typically African in character and construction. Fritsch supported this notion. Such ideas had no audience in British and later Rhodesian circles until Randall-Maclver's investigations thirty years later. Hartmann and his views would be revived by the Germans in the early 1900s, but he, too, is largely forgotten.

We have no other eyewitness accounts of Great Zimbabwe until 1889 and the visit of Willi Posselt. Merensky writes of earlier attempts, which met with tragedy. Nevertheless, Posselt's tale in contemporary letters and his memoir is exciting enough. The finds of carved soapstone Zimbabwe birds by Posselt fueled a new round of speculation.

In 1890, Mashonaland was entered by an armed filibustering expedition and claimed for the British South Africa Company. Great Zimbabwe was soon to be exploited as a gold source and a tourist attraction: interest in the biblical Ophir was on the wane. The Ophir essay, in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th edition (1910-1911), dismisses the conceit of Rhodesia as a

biblical land, but some popular encyclopedias and geographies in 1992 still identify Great Zimbabwe with Ophir.

The Fountains of the Nile

The Nile search is well documented, the following is a contemporary history and assessment of the effort to locate the sources of the Nile in East Africa.

338. Findlay, A. G. "On Dr. Livingstone's Last Journey, and the Probable Ultimate Sources of the Nile." *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 37 (1867): 193—212.

Contemporary account of expeditions into the lakes region of East Africa from Lacerda to Livingstone with the intention to determine the topography of the East African lakes and the Nile basin.

Merensky and Nachtigal Journey into the Interior

Merensky

339. Merensky, A. *Beitrdge zur Kenntniss Süd-Afrikas: Geographischen, Ethnographischen und Historischen Inhalts*. Berlin: Verlag des Missionshauses, 1875.

Collection of public lectures given by Merensky in Berlin and other German towns during the winter of 1875. His view of southern African lifeways and geography. Third lecture discusses Solomon's Ophir, the interpretation of Biblical texts and other evidence relevant to Ophir, and posits that it resided in south east central Africa. The anecdotal evidence of an abandoned city in the interior, the Africans dread of the place and his attempt to reach it, Mauch's journey and description.

340. Merensky, A. *Erinnerungen aus dem Missionsleben in Südost-Afrika (Transvaal)*. 1859—1882. Bielefeld and Leipzig: Verlag von Velhagen

und Klasing, 1888.

Illustrated memoirs of mission life, in the northern Transvaal, in the middle of the 19th century. Used as a guide to Great Zimbabwe by Beuster during his trip in 1893. Chapter 10, *Eine Untersuchungsreise*, pp. 165-185, describes his attempted journey to Great Zimbabwe with passages from Mauch and a sketch map. Published prior to Posselt's visit, he recalls an attempt by two Germans and another by an Englishman to reach Great Zimbabwe; each journey ended in disaster.

Nachtigal

341. J. D. R. "Ophir?" *Athenaeum* 2154 (1869): 211.

Merensky and Nachtigal's 1861 attempt to reach Great Zimbabwe from conversation with Nachtigal. Philological speculations on the associations of the name Ophir with Afur.

The Site of Ophir

342. Anonymous. "Zwei Ruinenstädten entdeckt." *Globus* 9 (1866): 125-26.

Reports of two ruined cities; one in Mexico, from local newspaper accounts, which is an areal archaeological site, and another in south Africa, reported in the *Cape and Natal News* of 2 August, 1865, which is not. Decides that the southern African report is a humbug, since there is no precedence for monumental towns in Africa, but reports of ruins sites in Mexico are believable due to the investigations of Catherwood and Stephens.

343. Anonymous. "Eine Angebliche Ruinenstadt in Südostafrika." *Globus* 15 (1869): 213-16.

Critique of purported discoveries of abandoned Egyptian cities in southern Africa. Compares the reports in *Cape and Natal News* (see above) and H. M. Walrnsley's 1869 novel with Merensky and NachtigaTs 1861-62 journey above the Limpopo, searching for Great Zimbabwe, based on the J. D. R. version above. Asserts validity of the latter but claims that the others are false reports.

344. Murchison, R. I. "Coal and Gold in South-eastern Africa." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Association* 38 (1868): clxxxii-clxxxvii.
The search for gold and Mauch's early journeys. Reiterates the report of a ruined city in the African interior from Thompson. Posits a site for Ophir in the lower Limpopo valley.
345. Thompson, G. "The Site of Ophir: Ancient Ruins in the Interior of Africa." *Notes and Queries* 3rd Series, v. 8 (9 September 1865): 210-12.
Reprints purported discovery of an abandoned Egyptian city in Natal from the *Cape and Natal News* of 2 August and opines that the original Ophir of Solomon may soon be found. This report published again in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 10 (1866): 173-174.
346. Thompson, G. "The Site of Ophir." *Notes and Queries* 3rd Series, v. 9 (6 January 1866): 16—18.
Supplements the list of Bibliothecar Chetham, published in 1865, with further authorities for an African location of the biblical Ophir.

The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land

347. Walmsley, H. M. *The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1869. 2 vols.
Illustrated two-volume novel in the style of a Victorian memoir of travel and adventure on the frontiers of empire. Chapters 8 and 9 of the first volume describe the finding of a bar of gold, extracted and molded at an ancient city of the interior, and the discovery of stone slabs inscribed in an antique language. Chapter 10 takes its heroes to an abandoned Egyptian city in the African interior. The value of this novel is not that it added to the fund of information about the African past, since it offered nothing new, but that it so epitomized the expectations of its time that it was reviewed seriously.
It was reissued in 1872 and 1879, in an abbreviated form as *Zulu Land: Its Wild Sports and Savage Life*. London: Frederick Warne and Company and again in 1970 in New York by Negro Universities Press.

And Some Commentaries on It

348. Anonymous. "The Ruined Cities of Zulu Land." *Athenaeum* 2163 (10 April 1869): 499-500.
Earnest review of Walmsley's novel. Abridges episode chronicling the traveller's sojourn in the ruins and critiques story as report of an actual journey.
349. de Saint-Martin, V. "Revue Géographique, 1869 (Premier Semestre). VII. Un Voyageur Allemand au Sud du Zambézi Karl Mauch et ses Explorations. Un Nouvelle California. Les Ruines Mystérieuses. Récites et Légendes." *Le Tour de Monde: nouveau journal des voyages* 19 (1869): 420—21.
Carl Mauch and the discovery of gold fields in Zambesia revive notions of the association of south central Africa with Ophir, an idea supported by the Walmsley account of the abandoned ruins of an ancient Egyptian city in the interior of southern Africa, confirmed by historical reports and the account of two German missionaries' journey there.
350. Etherington, N. "South African Origins of Rider Haggard's Early African Romances." *Notes and Queries* (n.s.) 24 (October 1977): 436-38.
Sources of Haggard's knowledge of "ancient rains" in the interior, with reference to Jeppe's *Map of the Transvaal Republic*, which indicated Mauch's route and depicted a picture of Great Zimbabwe on the margin and Baines' *Map of the Gold Fields of South Africa* (1877), marked "Supposed Realm of the Queen of Sheba," and H. M. Walmsley's, *The Ruined Cities of Zululand* of 1869. The Jeppe map is accompanied by Jeppe, F. "Notes on Some of the Physical and Geological Features of the Transvaal and Surrounding Countries" *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 47 (1877): 217-250, map, and was reprinted in Sandeman, E F. *Eight Months in an Ox-Waggon*, London: Griffith and Faran, 1880. Baines' map was printed in the *Gold Regions of Southern Africa*, see below.
351. Hartmann, R. *Die Nigritier: Eine Anthropologisch—Ethnologische Monograph. Erster Theil*. Berlin: Verlag von Wiegandt, Hempel und Farey, 1875.
Illustrated comparative ethnological study of the history and lifeways of

northeast Africa. His third chapter *Denkmaler als Zeugen der Vergangenheit*, pp. 5-42, offers a commentary on and abstracts from Arab and Portuguese sources on the interior of south central Africa, reviews Walmsley's *The Ruined Cities of Zululand* and quotes Petermann's suggestion that Great Zimbabwe was the product of Phoenician settlers and, therefore, the biblical Ophir, Hartmann offers, instead of conventional explanations of foreign invaders, contemporary field data supporting his argument that the stone-built enclosures of south east Africa were the product of African builders, using a traditional mode of building. A significant early attempt to attribute the stone-built enclosures to African culture. The publication date notwithstanding, though Hartmann notes the Mauch visit to Great Zimbabwe, he does not fully integrate this new information into his argument.

Carl Mauch at Great Zimbabwe

Carl Mauch, His Letters and Writings

352. Mauch, K. "Vorläufige Notiz über die Ruinen von Zimbabwe." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 8 (1876): 186-89. Dated Gotha 17 January 1873 and presented posthumously by R. Andree. The context of this note is the controversy over the assertion that Great Zimbabwe was built by Phoenician or other non-African settlers. In order to allow experts an opportunity to better understand the nature of Great Zimbabwe, Mauch offers a more complete and illustrated description. Introduced by Hartmann. Translated by Bernhard in 1971.
353. Petermann, A., compiler and editor. "Nachrichten von Carl Mauch im Inneren von Siid-Afrika, bis zum 27. Juli 1871. Antritt Seiner Neuen Reise, nach Manica." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 18 (1872): 81-82. Mauch's despatches describe his on-going travels and the conditions in

the regions north of the Limpopo in a direct and immediately personal way. Written during the period which would bring him to Great Zimbabwe. Translated by Bernhard in 1971.

354. Petermann, A., compiler and editor. "Carl Mauch's Entdeckung der Ruinen von Zimbaoe, 5 September 1871." *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 18 (1872): 121—26.

Compilation of three letters, two from Mauch and one from Merensky, describing Mauch's first visit to Great Zimbabwe. Illustrated with sketches of a design found on a wooden beam and a chevron walling design. Translated by Bernhard in 1971. Petermann appends a note on earlier geographers' allusions to Great Zimbabwe and disputes Lassen's assessment about the name Ophir and claims that Ophir is in the Indus delta. Material by Petermann not available elsewhere. Includes reprint of the *Transvaal Argus* account of Merensky's attempt to travel to Great Zimbabwe in 1860—61. Newspaper report of the Mauch journey in *Vossische Zeitung Sonntagsbeilage* (1872), no. 6, p. 24., and other newspaper reports of Mauch's trip were published by Petermann, see below.

355. Petermann, A., compiler and editor. "Carl Mauch's Reisen im Inneren von Siid-Afrika 1865-1872." *Mittheilungen aus Justin Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt. Ergänzungsband 8, 1873-1874., Heft No. 37.* 1874.

Extended illustrated account of Mauch's travels in southern Africa; compiled from his Journals and published dispatches. Material relevant to his first journey to and description of Great Zimbabwe in section IV, p. 38, and section VI, p. 49 ff. Translated by Bernhard in 1971.

[Translations](#)

356. Bernhard, F. O. "Discoverer of Simbabwe: The Story of Karl Mauch 1837-75. Part 1." *Rhodesiana* 21 (1969): 19-35.

English translation of journals and letters as published by Petermann,

357. Bernhard, F. O. "Discoverer of Simbabwe: The Story of Karl Mauch 1837-75. Part 2." *Rhodesiana* 22 (1970): 28-44.

English translation of journals and letters as published by Petermann.

358. Bernhard, F. O., editor and translator. *Carl Mauch: African Explorer*. Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty) Ltd., 1971.
Despatches of Carl Mauch as originally published by Petermann in the *Geographischen Mittheilungen*. Collects everything written between 1866 and 1873 and his return to Germany. The *Geographischen Mittheilungen* obituary notice and Petermann's edition of this material from 1874. Texts relate to Mauch's life in the field and his geological and ethnographic observations. Material on his stay at Great Zimbabwe on pp. 113-120. Pp. 233-239 describe Great Zimbabwe from his *Journals* as in Burke 1969. Pp. 123—127 translates the Mauch note of 1876. Illustrated with sketches from his journals.
359. Burke, E. E., editor. *The Journals of Carl Mauch: His Travels in the Transvaal and Rhodesia 1869-1872*. Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1969.
Illustrated field diaries written during journeys in southern Africa, transcribed and translated into English by E. and F. O. Bernhard. The most complete record of his observations, opinions and activities
Annotated bibliography of works by and about Mauch.
360. Summers, R. F. H. "Carl Mauch on Zimbabwe Ruins." *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)* 29 (1952): 107-11.
English translation, and commentary on Mauch's description of Great Zimbabwe.

Biographical Notes

361. Andree, R. "Karl Mauch." *Globus* 27 (1875): 278—81.
Illustrated obituary summarizes life and career of Carl Mauch. Quotes Mauch associating Great Zimbabwe with Queen of Sheba and gold fleets of King Solomon. Mauch sketch of Great Zimbabwe, depicting the Hill Ruin and the Great Enclosure. See biographical note "Karl Mauch" in *Mustierte Zeitung*, Leipzig (1872) 49, pp. 23-26.
362. Schlichter, H. G. "Neues über Karl Mauchs Forschungen in Südostafrika." *Jahresbericht des Württembergische Verein für Handelsgeographie und Förderung Deutsches Interessen iti Auslande (E.V.)* 1894/1895 13/14 (1895): 98-133.
Life and career of Carl Mauch in southern Africa from letters published

by Petermann and Mauch's field notebooks. Pp. 128-132 characterizes Great Zimbabwe and its historical significance. Argues for an ancient age and Semitic affiliations.

Thomas Baines

Summaries of Baines' diaries, detailing his field investigations, were published by R. T. Mann in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* in the 1870s, see 701, 702.

363. Baines, T. *The Gold Regions of South Eastern Africa*. London: Edward Stanford, 1877.

Illustrated travels through Zambesia, the search for gold fields, and observations on the local people. Pp. 121—123 repeat Mauch's description of Great Zimbabwe, with two fanciful drawings by Baines based on published descriptions. Edited and introduced by R. N. Hall, who argues for the discovery of Ophir.

A Contemporary Spanish Compilation

364. Garcia Ayuso, D. F. *Viajes de Mauch y Baines al Africa del sur Redactos con Sujecioti a Sus Memorias y Relaciones*. Madrid: Carlos Bailly-Bailliere, 1877.

Commentary and description of the exploration and travels of Mauch and Baines in Zambezia, with extensive translation of their reports.

Contemporary Commentaries

365. Anonymous. "Karl Mauchs Entdeckungen in Siidlichen Afrika." *Das Ausland* 45.22 (1872): 505-09.

Attributed to Mauch by Randall-Maclver: edited abstracts from Mauch's South African despatches, with connective passages by an anonymous hand. Summarizes Mauch's travels in southern Africa, emphasizing his journey to and description of Great Zimbabwe 366. Behm, E. "Die

Bedeutenderen Geographischen Reisen in der Jahren 1870 und 1871, nebst Notizen über die Geogr. Gesellschaften und Publikationen. *Geographisches Jahrbuch* 4 (1872): 374-450.

Survey divided by geographical area of important travel in the early 1870s. Pp. 418-419 describe C. Mauch's travels in south central Africa and the discovery and description of Great Zimbabwe within the context of contemporary travel.

367. Beke, C. T. "The Gold-fields of Eastern Africa, and the Land of Ophir." *Athenaeum* 2142 (1868): 644.

Mauch's latest explorations in south east Africa and whether Ophir was to be found in eastern Africa. Earlier, Beke, *Athenaeum* 2141 (1868): 604, had suggested the possibility of gold fields in this highly mineralized region.

368. Beke, C. T. "The Gold Country of Ophir and Carl Mauch's Latest Discoveries." *Athenaeum* 2311 (1872): 180.

Characterizes Mauch's published description of Great Zimbabwe. Debates Petermann's attribution of Ophir to south central Africa, positing that Ophir was not a specific place but an ancient name used to designate gold-producing areas.

369. Beke, C. T. "The Land of Ophir and the Ruins of Zimbaby, in South-eastern Africa." *Athenaeum* 2316 (1872): 338.

Comments on Mauch's sketches of the ornamentation at Great Zimbabwe and reconstructs the route as described in the Bible of the Solomon-Hiram underwritten voyage to Ophir. Concludes that the schedule lacked time needed to penetrate to the interior of southern Africa and that they could not have reached as far inland as Great Zimbabwe. Suggests that Great Zimbabwe was constructed by southern Arabians.

370. de Saint-Martin, V. "Revue Géographique, 1872 (Premier Semestre).

III. M. Carl Mauch dans le Sud de L'Afrique Australe. Travaux importants. Les ruines mystérieuses. La vieille question d'Ophir." *Le Tour du Monde: nouveau journal des voyages* 23 (1872): 418-19.

Comment on Petermann's publication of Mauch's travels in southern Africa and the reaction to the report of his journey to Great Zimbabwe. Its relationship to the Ophir question discussed with reference to the medieval and older sources of information on southern Africa.

Speaking before the May 1872 meeting of the Paris Geographical

Society, Saint-Martin had posited a distinction between the Ophir of Genesis, which was in southern Arabia and that in Kings, which was yet to be identified.

371. Erskine, St. V. W. "Journey to Umzila's, South East Africa, in 1871—72." *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 45 (1875): 45-128. Account of some travel in south central Africa, during which, for a time, he accompanied Mauch. Debates Mauch on the location of Great Zimbabwe and, with reference to the accounts of Baretto and de Naya, whether the Sabi or the Bosi was the river of Sofala, if the place visited by Mauch was the Zimboe of old tradition. Posits the Zimboe of the old geographers was a grass palace destroyed by the Portuguese about 1590 and that Mauch's find was a fort of Baretto's. Disputes Petermann's suggestion that Great Zimbabwe was the seat of the Queen of Sheba, who lent her name to the Sabi River.

Erskine described his travels with Mauch in Erskine, St. V. W. "Journey of Exploration to the Mouth of the Limpopo River." *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 39 (1869): 233—276.

372. Hartmann, R. "Zimbáoé oder Zimbábyé." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologic. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologic, Ethnologic und Urgeschichte* 8 (1876): 185-86.

Hartmann expresses his long-time interest in the question of Great Zimbabwe while lamenting the failure of Mauch to publish all his sketches prior to his death in the light of his opinion of the antiquity of Great Zimbabwe. Introduces the reading and discussion of Mauch's description of Great Zimbabwe.

373. Petermann, A. "Ophir und die Entdeckungen von Karl Mauch." *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 21 (1872): 141—44. Dated Gotha, 3 February, and reprinted from *Neuen preussischen Zeitung* nr. 80 (1872).

Outlines the arguments in the debate over the location of the biblical Ophir and announces Mauch's journey to Great Zimbabwe. Posits a Phoenician origin for it and the other ruins in the vicinity. This also appeared in the *Kirchenblatt. Allgemeine Evang.-Luther.* 5 (1872): 142-144.

374. Petermann, A. "Das Goldland Ophir der Bibel und die Neuesten Entdeckungen von Karl Mauch." *Das Ausland* 45 (1872): 239-40. Announcement of Mauch's journey to Great Zimbabwe and its

significance. Followed by the editor's note on recently published arguments on the Ophir question. The Petermann article also appeared in *AUgemeine Zeitung* (1872): 582, and *Gaea, Natur und Leben* 8 (1872): 116. H. Kiepert responded in *AUgemeine Zeitung* (1872): 1695 to restate his argument for southern India as the site of Ophir. Beke responded to this article in *Athenaeum* 2311, see above.

375. Rösier, R. "Zur Ophir-Frage." *Das Ausland* 45 (1872): 648.

Response to Petermann's announcement of Mauch's arrival at Great Zimbabwe. Presents philological arguments about the origins of the words used to denote the cargoes mentioned in biblical texts and said to be derived from Ophir. Debates the idea that the site of Ophir can be ascertained or that the biblical Ophir can be identified.

[Mauch Revisited](#)

376. Anonymous. "The Zimbabye and Other Ruins in Mashona-land."

Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society 13 (1891): 120-21.

Comments attributed to Maund and amplifying G. A. Phillips' remarks appended to Maund's presentation before the Royal Geographical Society of 1891. Phillips describes his relief of A. Renders and Mauch in late 1872, journeying to Great Zimbabwe with Mauch, and his response to a query about the magnificence of Great Zimbabwe. Phillips claims to have been unimpressed with the site, which resembled other stone enclosures he had visited in the vicinity. Lacy and other British commentators attribute the first modern sighting of Great Zimbabwe to Phillips in 1868.

377. Dauer, A. M. "Gedanken iiber die Monolithen von Zimbabwe." *Tribus: der Veroffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, August 1969, 103-09.

Illustrated discussion of stone stele and carved bird figures found in the tops of walls at Great Zimbabwe. What Mauch observed at Great Zimbabwe from the descriptions of Great Zimbabwe in his letters to Petermann.

[W. Posselt Visits Great Zimbabwe](#)

378. Battels, M. "Rumen von Zimbabye in Siid-Afrika. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 21 (1889): 737-44.
Debate between those who hold that Great Zimbabwe was of African origin and those who hold that it was the product of foreigners.
Illustrated by a report of Posselt at Great Zimbabwe in 1889 from a letter received from Nauhaus of the Botshabelo Mission. Views of the soapstone bird and carved soapstone finial removed by Posselt.
Discussion of the kind of bird depicted. With Hartmann and Fritsch's opinion on the African origins of the buildings. Battels, deferring to Merensky, defends a foreign intruder hypothesis.
379. Merensky, A. "Bericht über die von Herrn W. Posselt Unternommene Reise nach Simbabwe." *Petermanns Geographischen Mitteilungen* 36 (1890): 22—23.
Illustrated report of Posselt's journey to Great Zimbabwe of 1889.
380. Posselt, W. "The Early Days of Mashonaland and a Visit to the Zimbabwe Ruins." *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)* 2 (1924): 70-74.
Memoirs, including the story of his journey to Great Zimbabwe, in 1889; the discovery of four soapstone birds; one of which he removed

[The Chartered Company Expedition](#)

The descriptions by members of the British South Africa Company's expedition into Mashonaland are the first eyewitness accounts of Great Zimbabwe in English. The intent of their articles was to serve the interests of the enterprise rather than to espouse archaeology. The article by Willoughby offers the least detail of Great Zimbabwe itself. That by Maund, to the Royal Geographical Society, is, perhaps the most often cited, though Selous's accounts express doubt about the conventionally held explanation of the origin of Great Zimbabwe. The article by Mandy is the most descriptive. A collection of 120 photographs by W. E. Fry, made in Mashonaland at this time, was later presented to the archives of the Royal Geographical Society. Some of these are reproduced by Selous, Buckland and the others.

The Participants' Descriptions

381. Anonymous. "The Zinbabwe Ruins." *The Times* 7 October 1890, 10.

First-hand account, dated 19 August 1890, from the British South Africa camp, Mashonaland Plateau, of a journey to Great Zimbabwe by a *Times* correspondent, accompanying the British South Africa Company's invasion of Mashonaland. Provides a vivid and detailed description of Great Zimbabwe by the third group of Europeans to visit the site. Confirms description made by Mauch in the 1870s, which apparently was being discredited at this time. The writer claims to be the first European visitor since Mauch and the possibility of photographs and sketches drew a response from an anonymous correspondent to *Globus* in 1891. Followed by a letter from D. Erskine, declaring an interest in new information of Great Zimbabwe, mention of his son's travels, the difficulties of reaching Great Zimbabwe and the importance of the gold fields in the region. Reprinted as "Ruins in a Wild Land: Walls of Great Size Found in South Africa: Their Discovery and Extent—No Mortar or Cement Used in Their Construction—Their History." *The New York Times* 31 October 1890, 2.

382. Mandy, F. "Golden Mashonalad." *Scribner's Magazine* 11.4 (April 1892): 455-70.

An account of the Pioneer Column and testimony to the economic potential of the Mashonaland plateau. Pp. 459-461 account their four-hour visit to Great Zimbabwe with a vivid description of the site and the structures in 1890. Illustrated. His earlier lecture in support of this enterprise is summarized by Anonymous, "The British South Africa Company" *Fortnightly Review* 52 (1889): 661—676.

383. Maund, E. A. "On Matabele and Mashona Lands." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 1—21.

Report of the Pioneer Column's excursion into Mashonaland and descriptions of Great Zimbabwe and the enclosure at the Lundi river. Extols the advantages to European settlement of the plateau, the healthy climate, and the presence of gold fields. Photograph of the stone walling at the Lundi river and another of the walling at Great Zimbabwe. Attributes the zimbabwes to ancient exploitation of gold. Describes the condition of the walling in 1890 and that it is being eroded by its use as outspans. Appended are remarks by G. A. Phillips describing his

meeting at Renders camp with Mauch in October 1871. Bent comments on the architecture of the walling and contrasts it with that found in Persia. Suggests that the walls do not resemble Phoenician architecture, and are more likely to be Persian. Illustrated. As with many of Maund's reports at this time, this is meant to describe Mashonaland favorably to encourage investment and settlement. See Maund, E. A. "Zambezia, the new British Possession in Central South Africa" *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 12.11 (November 1890): 649-655, map, in which he describes the physical features and potential of the territory while minimizing the difficulties of travel as the exaggerations of those who pose as heroes of exploration.

384. Selous, F. C. "Twenty Years in Rhodesia." *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): 289-321.

Illustrated account of travels and adventures in south central Africa, the Company's chief guide during the Mashonaland trek. Pp. 303—304 recall Mauch's visit to Great Zimbabwe. Pp. 308—312 state his ideas about the founding of Great Zimbabwe; that in his opinion the builders were a rude but civilized commercial Arabian people, who mined the gold deposits but passed from the scene by intermarriage with the native population. Posits that there were no ancient cities in Mashonaland, only temples surrounded by mud huts. P. 316 describes modern Shona ritual usages at Great Zimbabwe.

385. Selous, F. C. *Travel and Adventures in South-east Africa*. London: Rowland Ward and Co. Limited, 1893.

Illustrated autobiography of his experiences travelling and living in south central Africa. Contains some material published by Selous in 1893 and presents the author's ideas on the origin of Great Zimbabwe and the other zimbabwes. Posits that a foreign race entered the region in antiquity and interbred with the local African population until they were no longer are discernible as a separate race. Believes that traces of this Semitic ancestry are discernible in the appearance of the local people and suggests that this ancient migrant race was not as gifted architecturally as some commentators posit but rather crude in their technique. States that this is reflected in the poor quality of mortarless stone walling still standing.

386. Willoughby, J. C. H. "How We Occupied Mashonaland." *The Fortnightly Review* 49.292 (1 April 1891): 513-32.

Vivid first-hand description of the Chartered Company filibustering expedition in Mashonaland in 1890, and (p. 522) Great Zimbabwe as long-lost land of Ophir.

[Commentaries Arising from This Expedition](#)

387. Anonymous. "Das Ratzel von Simbabwe." *Globus* 59 (1891): 13-15.
The Chartered Company incursion in Mashonaland and the promise of further photographs, artifacts and measurements from Great Zimbabwe suggest a relevance to reviewing the information from and hypotheses about Great Zimbabwe. Surveys current sources of data, the prior visits to the site by Mauch and Posselt, and the speculative debate over its significance. Illustrated with Mauch's sketch of a general view of Great Zimbabwe, his plan of the Great Enclosure and the Posselt carved soapstone bird.
388. Buckland, A. W. "Traces of a Vanished Civilization in Darkest Africa." *The Leisure Hour Monthly* 40 (March 1891): 325-30.
Commentary on the archaeological and historical importance of Great Zimbabwe, written in response to the announcement of the British South Africa Company's expedition of 1890. Photographs of Great Zimbabwe made during the Chartered Company visit by W. E. Fry who appends a description.

[Other Material of Related Historical Interest](#)

389. Gooch, W. D. "The Stone Age of South Africa." *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 11 (1882): 124—83.
Within a summary overview of museum collections of antiquities from southern Africa illustrates and describes a small collection of decorated pottery from Natal and the Cape.
390. Livingstone, D., and C. Livingstone. *Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambezi and Its Tributaries*. London: John Murray, 1865.
Detailed description of Livingstone's attempt to map the Zambezi river drainage to determine the feasibility of river passage inland from the

coast with much ethnographic and geographic detail. The introductory chapter recounts the history of Portuguese settlement, their search for gold fields and the speculation that the region was the site of the biblical Gphir.

391. MacQueen, J. "Journey of Galvao Da Silva to Manica Gold Fields, Etc., in 1788, with Description of the Country South of the Lower Zambeze." *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 38 (1860): 155-61.

Portuguese operations in the Manica gold fields, generally believed to be the Ophir of Solomon, and relations with the customary chiefdoms of the interior.

392. Stuart, J. M., editor. *The Ancient Gold Fields of Africa: From the Gold Coast to Mashonaland: Comprising the History of Africa; Mashonaland; the Land of Ophir; the Emperor of Ethiopia; the Emperor of Monomotapa; the Gold Coast; with Ancient Maps and Plans of Zumbo, Ancient Ruins, Ancient Forts, Etc. Compiled from the Archives of Ancient and Modern Nations with Plates and Plans of the Utmost Interest*. London: 16, Monument Station Buildings, E.G., 1891. Illustrated documentary history of discovery and exploitation of the southern African gold fields from archive and solicited materials. See pp. 48-298 for Mashonaland its mines and monumental sites. Reprints the editor's thesis on Ophir.

Exploring the Ancient Ruins—1890-1914

The Bent Expedition and Archaeology of the '90s

Summers, enumerating professional archaeologists who had studied Great Zimbabwe as a field exercise, began with Randall-Maclver in 1905. His assessment of 19th-century archaeology is essentially correct. By modern standards, little of the archaeology in Zimbabwe in the 1890s can be seriously considered as disciplined research into the past. The Ancient Ruins Company was formed to mine archaeological sites for treasure, and some individuals like Willoughby and Burnham were given rights to dig, and Willoughby even produced an account of his excavation. Neal, who was active in the Ancient Ruins Company, would eventually publish with Hall an account of his excavations. Although, as Schofield argues, the scientific interest followed the failure of the digs to produce an appreciable treasure.

The activities of the Ancient Ruins Company destroyed the archaeological context of most sites, seriously impeding research ever since. Nonetheless, there were three earnest attempts to study them at the time. Two Germans, of some contemporary reputation, Henry Schlichter and Carl Peters, visited Great Zimbabwe and other localities with the intention of solving the Ophir question. Peters, a German administrator in East Africa, was responsible for the imposition of German rule in Tanzania until he was forced out in scandal. He harbored the ambition to prove that Ophir was to be found in Zambezia. He chose the northern region near Mt. Fura, the former capitol of Monomatapa, because of the correspondence of sounds between Ophir and Afura. This kind of facile analogy was common at the time, and he reenforced his field observations with an artifact of dubious source, arguing for an ancient Egyptian presence in Zambezia.

Henry Schlichter, a German living in London, had already made analyses of classical geography and its correspondence with contemporary mapping. This rather dubious enterprise, given the state of most contemporary maps of Africa, was a common exercise of the period. None of his investigations in Africa was archaeological in any strict sense. He was an antiquarian of some reputation, who had access to Mauch's diaries, published an appreciation of Mauch, spoke frequently to the Royal Geographical Society and supported by Rhodes travelled to Rhodesia to validate the conventional explanation of the ruins. His publication of a typical, patently recent African carved wooden bowl as a relic of great antiquity, depicting a zodiac, was met with sarcasm by his contemporaries in Germany. Similarly, his review of Bent and Swan's conclusions led to his positing an alternative hypothesis about the orientation of the buildings at Great Zimbabwe. This kind of procedure and the ensuing argument represent an archaeology no longer current but one which was freely practiced in the latter half of the 19th century.

J. Theodore Bent, his wife and their friend Robert Swan travelled to Mashonaland in 1891 to conduct the first major archaeological investigations in southern Africa. Robert Swan measured buildings at Great Zimbabwe to determine their orientation with respect to certain solar events such as the solstices. Underlying this analysis was the idea that adherents to ancient solar religions lined up the axes of their temples or other sacred edifices to catch the first light on significant days of the solar calendar. It was assumed that by determining the orientation, one could also suggest the age of the structures as Schlichter had proposed.

Not only Great Zimbabwe but other monumental sites were surveyed, testing their orientation. Underlying this activity was another body of theory basic to the period: it held that the ancient civilizations had a common origin and diffused from this core area to the places archaeology was now re-discovering. This idea of diffusion explained the diversity of culture and reconciled new archaeological finds to commonly held beliefs about the progressivism of culture, the significance of western civilization and its relationship to the cultures of the non-European world.

Schlichter faulted the conclusions reached by Swan, and Mennell the precision of his measurements. We would discard his research as shoddy in execution, spurious in its conclusions and otherwise flawed in theory. These are serious faults. With the exception of non-archaeologists with computers,

no one any longer attempts to test the astronomical inclinations of early architects or sees in such studies a means of dating old sites or defining culture spheres. Diffusionism is no longer viable as an acceptable response to emergent cultural complexity. Nevertheless, Swan's research in concept, execution and performance conformed to norms of his time: his data was cited by others in learned journals. He was first criticized for his imperfect measurements, and only later, as methodologies changed, for his irrelevancies, and the man forgotten.

The same sad fate has overtaken J. Theodore Bent, whose name does not appear in the standard histories of archaeology, nor even in the *National Dictionary of Biography*. Yet, to read the contemporary press, he had considerable reputation as an archaeologist. He was renowned for his work in the Middle East, commanding the respect of the Royal Geographical Society, the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the British South Africa Company, all of whom supported his research in Mashonaland. His intention to go to Africa to investigate Great Zimbabwe gave confidence to the public and the scientific press that the question of the ancient ruins in south central Africa was on the road to a solution.

His investigations were widely reported in the media of four countries on two continents. He had reputation and stature among his contemporaries and peers. His remarks to learned societies were met with respect. It is therefore curious that he should vanish from our view upon his death shortly after returning from Africa. He was eulogized in the pages of *The Times*, and his death deemed a loss. He died in his mid-40s, while conducting research in the Middle East. It is possible that with a longer life, he could have made the transition from 19th-century antiquarian to a 20th-century archaeologist along the lines of Flinders Petrie. We may deem his research a failure, trapped in the methodologies and preoccupations of his time. He was very competent at his kind of archaeology, but the substance of its methodology and results are flawed.

Bent went to Mashonaland to decide from where in the ancient world Great Zimbabwe derived. His methods were ones of comparing elements of architectural detail with a Middle Eastern antiquity he knew. Fifteen years later, Randall-MacIver draw an entirely different kind of conclusion about its cultural origins and date, using methodologies and a world view entirely different from that of Bent or his contemporaries.

Bent went to Africa believing in the ruins of an ancient Semitic city, where he found phallus and stone worship, solar rites, elements of primitive Semitic religion, and a city built by Phoenician seafarers. He went to England via Portugal, publicizing his results, convincing Tylor, who found in them vindication of his conception of cultural evolution. For the next half century, Bent's conclusions were cited in Rhodesia and elsewhere, justifying a rejection of Randall-MacIver's answer to the mystery of Great Zimbabwe. But his ideas were wrong, predestined wrong from the moment he took ship for South Africa by the archaeological universe he had mastered.

Investigators of the period used a consistent model of early Semitic religion, which appears earlier in the writings of Winwood Reade and Burton, R. F., *The Gold-Mines of Midian and the Midianite Cities: A Fortnight's Tour of Northwestern Arabia*, (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co. [1878]). Comparative information may be found in *the Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Jerusalem and New York: Encyclopaediajudaica and Macmillan. 1971. Of particular interest are the articles, "Ophir," for the question of the source of Solomon's gold, and "Idolatry" and "Even Shetiyyah," for the worship of stones.

[J. Theodore Bent and teh Ancient Phoenicians](#)

[The Research of J. Theodore Bent](#)

393. Bent, J. T. *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland: Being a Record of Explorations and Excavations in 1891*. London. Longmans, Green and Company, 1892.

Illustrated report of investigations divided into three major parts; the journey to southern Africa, the research with ethnographic and geographical observations; and observations on the native people's relationship to the zimbabwes. Drawings and photographs. Concludes that stone-built enclosures were once setdements of ancient pre-Mohammedan people from Arabian peninsular who exploited the gold fields. Measurements taken at Great Zimbabwe by Swan. 1893 edition enlarged to discuss hawk symbol, as an evidence of connection to Egypt.

394. Bent, J. T. "The Ruins of Mashonaland, and Explorations in the Country." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14 (1892): 273-98.

Illustrated research at Great Zimbabwe and other sites in southern Africa. Archaeological investigations at Great Zimbabwe and ethnographic observations of local people.

395. Bent, J. T. "The Tribes of Mashonaland and Their Origin." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 8 (1892): 534—38.

Ethnographic study of the local people of northeast Zimbabwe.

Suggests present population has inhabited the region for about 1000 years, that they were once a powerful and "quasi-civilized" people as a result of contact with foreigners but have fallen back. Posits a lasting Semitic influence in traditional beliefs, as, for example, ancestor worship and goat sacrifice, for which evidence is claimed from Great Zimbabwe.

396. Bent, J. T. "Mashonaland and Its Inhabitants." *The New Review* 6 (1892): 580-92.

Ethnographic observations and remarks on Great Zimbabwe. Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* (1892) 194, pp. 44-51.

397. Bent, J. T. "On the Finds at the Great Zimbabwe Ruins (With a View to Elucidating the Origin of the Race That Built Them)." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 22 (1893): 124-36.

Explorations in south central Africa illustrated by plans, line drawings and views of Great Zimbabwe. Suggests that Great Zimbabwe was a fortress guarding mining operations of an intrusive population from southern Arabia. Posits the founding of the central African towns in remote antiquity. Comment includes Evans on problems associated with dating the African "ruins" from artifacts or architectural details.

398. Bent, J. T. "The Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Geographical Journal* 2 (1893): 438-41.

Note, including a letter from Swan describing work at various zimbabwes; notice of Willoughby's publication of his research and differences in their interpretation.

399. Bent, J. T. "The Geography of the Zimbabwe Ruins in Mashonaland." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science-1892* 62 (1893): 816.

Abstract of paper presented 8 August. Brief remarks about Great

Zimbabwe, sources, ancient and modern, on the gold routes and acquisition of gold, and Arab and Portuguese accounts of south central Africa.

400. Bent, J. T. "Report to the Committee on Investigations in Mashonaland." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science— 1892* 62 (1893): 538-44.

Detailed and explicit description of field work at Great Zimbabwe. Describes soapstone carvings and enumerates decorated bowls, which he associates with temple rituals.

401. Bent, J. T. "The Present Inhabitants of Mashonaland, and Their Origin." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science-1892* 62 (1893): 900-901.

Abstract of paper delivered on 5 August. Culture and physical make-up of the people of Mashonaland said to be derived from external influence, 402. Bent, J. T. "The Geography of the Zimbabwe Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society* 7 (1893): 295-300.

Survey of classical and modern sources on the gold-bearing regions of the world and their relationship to Great Zimbabwe. Congruences between the location of Great Zimbabwe and the Portuguese accounts suggest Great Zimbabwe as the place alluded to.

403. Bent, J. T. "On the Origin of the Mashonaland Ruins." *The Nineteenth Century: A Monthly Review* 34 (1893): 991—97.

Great Zimbabwe as an ancient site associated with Semitic population and cultural practices derived from southern Arabia.

404. Bent, J. T. "Mashonaland and Its People." *The Contemporary Review* 14 (1893): 642-53.

Ethnographic observations, ancient workings and evidence of goat sacrifice at Great Zimbabwe. Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* (1893) 199, pp. 749-58.

[Biographical](#)

405. Anonymous. "Mr. j. Theodore Bent." *The Times* 7 May 1897, 11. Obituary notice, presenting a short summary of his life and career.

About the Bent Expedition

406. Anonymous. "Zimbabwe." *The Times* 12 December 1890, 8.
Notice that the British South Africa Company had matched the grant of 200 pounds sterling by the Royal Geographical Society in support of Bent's trip to Mashonaland.
407. Anonymous. "Exploration of the Ancient Ruins of Zimbabwe and the Lundi in Mashonaland." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 35.
Announcement that J. Theodore Bent, explorer of Phoenician remains in the Bahrein Islands, would undertake to explore the mysterious ruins in the interior of southern Africa.
408. Anonymous. "Mr. Theodore Bent's Expedition to Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 120.
Notice that the Bent party to explore the southern African ruins left England the previous Friday.
409. Anonymous. "Mr. Theodore Bent's Explorations at Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 483.
Note that Bent's investigations had uncovered images and pottery supposed to be of Phoenician origin.
410. Anonymous. "Zimbabwe Ruins; Mr. Theodore Bent's Discoveries." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 608-609.
Notice of the Bent's recent investigations in the hilltop ruins at Great Zimbabwe and the various objects discovered there. Expresses Bent's opinion that the conical tower found there was devoted to phallic worship.
411. Anonymous. "Mr. Theodore Bent's Expedition." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13 (1891): 722.
Notice of a letter from Bent detailing some of his party's activities during the period following the investigations at Great Zimbabwe.
412. Anonymous. "Mr. Bent's Explorations in Mashonaland." *The Times* 31 December 1891, 14.
Report from the Cape of the conclusion of Bent's investigations in southern Africa and departure with his wife and Swan for Portugal to study Portuguese accounts of the interior. Bent's work and travels in Mashonaland.

413. Anonymous. "The Ruins in South Central Africa." *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science, and Art* 8.377 (1891): 177—78.
Speculation about, and description of, Great Zimbabwe anticipating Bent's investigations. Reprinted in *Littell's Living Age* (1891) 190, no. 2453, pp. 62-64.
414. Anonymous. "Mr. Bent's Expedition to Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14 (1892): 120.
Brief note, which follows an announcement of Bent's forthcoming appearance before the RGS, summarizing the results of his archaeological investigations in Mashonaland.
415. Hofmeyer, A. "A Visit to the Zimbabwe Ruins." *Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature and Science* 19 (November 1902): 758-62.
Incidents during a visit to Great Zimbabwe in 1891 at the time of Bent's investigations. Describes dinner with the Bents, an encounter with local Africans opposed to the excavations, and an anecdotal account of a Matabele raid on a Shona village.

[The French and German Press](#)

416. Anonymous. "Notes and Correspondences." *Revue Francaise de l'etranger et des colonies et exploration gazette* 14.2 (1891): 269.
Note reporting the progress of Bent's explorations at Great Zimbabwe. Suggests structures of Phoenician origin. Reports finds of blue and green pottery of apparent Persian origin and a copper blade covered with gold leaf.
417. Anonymous. "Les Ruines de Zimbabwe." *Revue Francaise de l'etranger et des colonies et exploration* 15 (1892): 538-40.
Bent's investigations at Great Zimbabwe from his letter to the *Cape Town News* of 15 December 1891.
418. Anonymous. "Th, Bents Ausgraben in den Ruinen von Simbabje (Sudafrika)." *Globus* 61 (1892): 100-101.
Detailed summary of Bent's letter from Cape Town of 16 November 1892 and first reports of his party's investigations at Great Zimbabwe. Contrasts the scale of this visit with the limited means available to Mauch. Remarks on the British neglect of Mauch's observations and Bent's description of features already recorded by others.

419. Hallez, T. "Les Ruines Monumentales de l'Afrique Australe." *Revue des Deux Mondes* ser. 10 v. 125 (1 October 1894): 665—79.

Brief history of the perception of a fortress deep in the interior of south central Africa with a long quote from Barros and the recent investigations by Bent. Description of Great Zimbabwe and Bent's conclusions from *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* and Bent's description of the stone enclosures at Melemo, Chilondo, Matindela and Chiburwe as well as the Tati and Lundi river sites, which Bent was unable to visit, because of unrest in the country, from other sources. Suggests that it is obvious that Great Zimbabwe was not constructed by the local Africans and that they are very ancient and comparable to monuments in Egypt.

[A Contrary Professional Opinion](#)

420. von Luschan, F. "Holzgefass aus Simbabwe." *Zeitschrift fur Ethnologic. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft fur Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 26 (1894): 444-45.

Illustrated description of a carved wooden bowl from Great Zimbabwe, described by Bent as a zodiac and Semitic in origin and for which great age is claimed. Remarks that the wood is well preserved, as was that found by Beuster in 1893.

[Robert W. M. Swan and Ancient Sun Worshippers](#)

[The Investigations of Robert Swan](#)

421. Swan, R. M. W. "Some Features of the Ruined Temples of Mashonaland." *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* 8 (1892). 539-544.

Illustrated expression of Bent and Swan's position that the structures at Great Zimbabwe represent the temples of Semitic nature worshippers. The orientation and mathematical peculiarities of Great Zimbabwe as part of solar-based worship.

422. Swan, R. M. W. "The Orientations of the Buildings at Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14 (1892): 306-09.
Survey and measurements taken at Great Zimbabwe. Posits that the decorated walls were a calendar, formed in association with the position of altars and openings in the walls arranged to permit the passage of sunlight at the solstice and equinox. Remarks on occurrence of structures exhibiting a solstitial orientation in the Southern Hemisphere.
423. Swan, R. M. W. "The Orientation and Architectural Features of the Ruined Temples of Mashonaland." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science—1892* 62 (1893): 816.
Abstract of paper delivered August 1892. Posits the "temples in Mashonaland" were laid out to catch either the rising or setting of the sun at one of the solstices and that the chevron wall decoration acted as a calendar. Describes the curvature of walls and suggests positioning of altars to observe the culmination of stars of the northern hemisphere.
424. Swan, R. M. W. "The Geography and Ethnology of Mashonaland, with a Brief Account of the Ruins of Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow* 24 (1893): 29-50.
Excellent account of the Bent expedition and some of their activities in southern Africa. Touches on the archaeological and historical concerns of his other papers but arguably the best of his presentations. Another account of the expedition by Bent, "The Road from Mashoonaland" *Fortnightly Review* 51 (1892): 182—193.
425. Swan, R. M. W. "Some Notes on Ruined Temples in Mashonaland." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 26 (1896): 2-13.
Illustrated survey of several enclosures derived from his journeys in southern Africa. Posits a connection between the buildings and the exploitation of gold. Argues, on the basis of the architectural style against Phoenicians as the original builders.

Comment on the Research of Robert Swan

- 426, Anonymous. "Discovery of Fresh Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Times* 19 October 1893, 10.
Swan's 1893 trip to and his investigations in southern Africa. Attributes newly located sites to the same people who built Great Zimbabwe and

their location in otherwise uninhabited areas to the occurrence of gemstones mentioned in the Book of Revelations. Posits that the enclosures were hilltop fortifications against hostile Africans.

427. Anonymous. "Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Geographical Journal* 2 (1893): 263-64.

Letter written on Swan's return to South Africa. Describes two stone enclosures at the confluence of the Lotsani and Limpopo rivers.

Suggests that the "temples" there bear the same orientation as that at Great Zimbabwe.

428. Lewis, A. L. "Ancient Measures in Pre-historic Monuments." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 27 (1898): 194—203.

Discussion of Swan's recently published data from Great Zimbabwe within a more general comparative survey of the orientation of British monumental structures. Posits that Swan's observations show a pattern so consistent that they cannot be explained except as part of an organized system.

On the other hand, Swan's data and his conclusions were challenged by Mennell and Schlichter; see the following for the debate with Schlichter.

The Ruins in Mashonaland: A Debate

Swan and Schlichter exchange letters, following Schlichter's review of Bent's *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*.

429. Swan, R. M. W. "The Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): 275-76.

Response to Schlichter's criticism, defending his position on the orientation of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe and its role in sun worship.

430. Swan, R. M. W. "The Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): 465.

A further response to Schlichter. Disagrees with the conclusions and proposals made by Schlichter in his earlier note.

431. Schlichter, H. G. "The Ruins in Mashonaland." *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): 146-48.

A generally favorable review of Bent's *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* of 1892. Supportive of the concept of Arabian and

Phoenician influences in south central Africa. Critical of Bent's lack of appreciation of knowledge of the south east coast by Arabs. Describes an ingot mold from one stone enclosure as similar to a Phoenician one found in Britain, suggesting on this basis an ancient origin for the African cities.

432. Schlichter, H. G. "The Ruins in Mashonaland" *The Geographical Journal* 1 (1893): 371-72.

Responds to Swan's first letter of 1893. Draws attention to inconsistencies between Swan's statements in Bent (1892) and his report in the 1893 *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*. Draws attention to his earlier arguments relating to the orientation of Great Zimbabwe.

[Henry Schlichter Tours Great Zimbabwe](#)

[The Writings of H. G. Schlichter](#)

433. Schlichter, H. G. "Die Ruinen von Simbabwe." *Dr. A. Petermann's Mitteilungen aus Justus' Perthes Geographischer Anstalt* 38 (1892): 283-86.

Illustrated discussion of age of Great Zimbabwe and the orientation of the buildings. Assumes that the wall decoration and openings in the wall form a solar calendar while positing that more accurate surveys of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe than Swan's could determine the layout of sight lines and enable one to accurately date the site to that period of the past when the sun's rays lit the line of decoration.

434. Schlichter, H. G. "Historical Evidence as to the Zimbabwe Ruins." *The Geographical Journal* 2 (1893): 44—52.

Surveys literature of antiquity for clues to the builders of Great Zimbabwe and contact between Arabia and the south east coast of Africa. Posits that the buildings are pre-Mohammedan but could not have built during the six hundred years prior to the beginning of the Mohammedan era: that they are of ancient Arabian origin.

435. Schlichter, H. G. "Ueber den Namen Simbabwe und Seine Bedeutung." *Dr. A. Petermann's Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer*

Anstalt 39 (1893): 148.

Two questions: the proper transcription of the name Zimbabwe and its meaning. Suggests that sound of the word as spoken by local Africans best represented by Simbabwe. That it means stone buildings.

436. Schlichter, H. G. "Travels and Researches in Rhodesia." *The Geographical Journal* 13 (1899): 376-96.

Illustrated investigations in south central Africa, describes discovery of an ancient Semitic inscription from Inyanga and a wooden plate with a zodiac from Great Zimbabwe. Posits that south central Africa as a gold-producing region once colonized by early Semitic people: Phoenician, Jewish or some other people from south west Arabia.

[Comment on the Conclusions of Schlichter](#)

437. Andree, R. "Ueber die Bedeutungen der Uralten Ruinen im Matabele- und Maschonaland." *Globus* 75 (1899): 308.

Critique of Schlichter's research in Rhodesia and his opinion that Great Zimbabwe and the other sites derived from an ancient Semitic people who worshiped the sun and his idea of measuring the astronomical bearings of the buildings at Great Zimbabwe to determine their age.

Illustrates a wooden bowl said to depict a zodiac. Suggests that the bowl is of African manufacture and that Schlichter's ideas are fantastic.

438. Wiehman, H. "Schlichter, Untersuchung der Ruinen in Mashona-Land." *Dr. A. Petermann's Mitteilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt* 45 (1899): 152.

A note in the- *Geographischer Monatsbericht* that the Great Zimbabwe problem now solved by Schlichter: it is of Phoenician origin.

[Carl Peters Searches the Zambezi Valley](#)

[Carl Peters Explores Ophir](#)

439. Peters, C. The Discovery of Ophir. *Harpers Monthly Magazine* 102 (December 1900): 115-24.
Illustrated account of adventures and research in southern Zambesia.
440. Peters, C. "Exploration of Ruins in Zambesia." *The Times* 1 August 1901, 3.
Statement of the results of his investigations in south central Africa and his hypothesis that the zimbabwes were a product of settlers from Egypt.
441. Peters, C. "Exploration in Zambesia." *The Times* 5 August 1901, 6.
Continues previous argument and draws attention to mention of Ophir in I Chronicles at the time of David.
442. Peters, C. "The Exploration of Ruins in Zambesia." *The Times* 19 August 1901, 6.
Continues the previous argument, and an Egyptian statuette, purportedly from Great Zimbabwe, is authenticated and dated by a letter from Flinders Petrie as belonging to the 18th Dynasty during the time of Thutmose III. Posits confirmation of Peters' hypothesis of Egyptian connections.
443. Peters, C. "Ophir and Punt in South Africa." *Journal of the African Society* 1 (1902): 174-83.
Illustrated discussion of investigations in the Mt. Fura area of Zimbabwe. Offers arguments supporting his hypothesis of extensive ancient Egyptian influence in south central Africa.

[Reports of Carl Peters](#)

444. Anonymous, "The Situation of Ophir." *Nature* 61 (1899): 203-204.
Report of an interview with Carl Peters in which he declares his opinion that Ophir is situated near the Zambezi rather than in India or Arabia as posited by others. Suggests an association between the phallic rites and worship of the Middle East with the nature worship of the east coast of Africa.
445. Anonymous. "Explorations of Ruins in Zambesia." *The Times* 17 July 1899, 8.
Carl Peters' investigations at Mt. Fura, the site and his research.

Some Commentary on Carl Peters

446. Fromm, E. "Die Ophirfrage." *Globus* 69 (1896): 128-29.

Assesses the arguments of Carl Peters *Das Goldene Ophir Salomos: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Phönikischen Weltpolitik*. München and Leipzig: R. Oldenburg. 1895. The question of the identity of Ophir and the different opinions about its location. Arguments for locating it in south central Africa and Peters' philological study supporting this view. Posits that the concurrence of a port at Sofala and the presence of ruins of an ancient city in the interior associated with mining operations offer strong motives confirming this hypothesis.

447. Helmolt, H. F, editor. *The History of the World: A Survey of Man's Record. Vol. III. West Asia and Africa*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1903.

Encyclopedic survey of African history. Section on foreign influence in early times, pp. 431—434, survey of stone structures in eastern Africa and an association of Great Zimbabwe with ancient Semites. Argues the antiquity of Great Zimbabwe from Peters' philological studies.

Carl Peters Refuted

448. Schafer, H. "Die Angebliche Ägyptische Figur aus Rhodesia." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 38 (1906): 896—904.

Illustrated discussion of a supposed Egyptian figurine discovered in northwest Zimbabwe and published by Carl Peters. Figurine exposed as a fraud or a hoax. Von Luschan in 1906 also discusses the dubious nature of this object.

Sir John Willoughby Digs at Great Zimbabwe

449. Willoughby, J. *A Narrative of Further Excavation at Zimbabwe (Mashonaland)*. London: George Philip, 1893.

Illustrated excavations and interpretations of three valley localities at Great Zimbabwe.

Other Investigations and Commentaries

450. Barber, H. M. "The Perforated Stories of South Africa." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 21 (1892): 302—304.

Illustrated suggestion that bored stones were part of a metalworkers' bellows. Bored stones as grave markers were mooted in the discussion to a Battels paper at the Berliner Gesellschaft in 1889 as part of the discussion of the news of Posselt's arrival at Great Zimbabwe.

451. Battels, M. "Holzstücke aus Zimbabye (Mashona Land) und Nord-Transvaal." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologic. Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologic, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* 28 (1896): 108-09.

Wood collected at Great Zimbabwe by Beuster in 1893 is compared with some wood got from a BaVenda, who claims its identity with the wood used to build Great Zimbabwe. It is found wanting.

452. Lenz, O. "Über Altarabische Ruinenstätten im Maschona-Land und deren Beziehungen zum Biblischen Ophir." *Mitteilungen der königl.-kaiserl. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 40 (1897): 187-211.

Summarizes information available on Great Zimbabwe and the debate on the location of the biblical Ophir from published sources. Uses the usual Arabic and Portuguese sources as well as hypotheses of various geographers about the identity of the biblical gold lands. Notes abundant gold sources in south central Africa. Current research of Schlichter and association of the Great Enclosure with solar worship. Uses this circumstance to suggest a pre-Mohammedan date for the site.

453. Ton-end, J. *A Comparative Grammar of the South-African Bantu Languages*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Triibner and Co., Ltd., 1891. Pp. xxxiii—xlvii of the introduction, suggestions about the origins of the Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa, and the African practice of building stone-walled kraals. Reviews Masudi's description of the land of Zendi, or Zeng, and equates this with the "empire of Monomatapa" and its chief town, Great Zimbabwe.

454. Tylor, E. B. *Primitive Culture: Researches Into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom*, 2 Volumes. (Reprinted 1958) New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1871. In post-1892 editions, Volume I, Tylor cites Bent and uses presumed contrasts between the culture of modern African populations and that of

the Monomatapa empire as a case of cultural regression, an idea addressed by Bent in his ethnographic accounts of 1892. Mennell cited Tylor as support for arguments favoring the African origin of Great Zimbabwe, though this is not readily apparent from the context of Tylor's argument, which appears to suggest that the zimbabwes were built by foreign intruders.

Surveying the Ruins

Anthropologists like Hartmann and missionaries like Fritsch had decried the attribution of the stone enclosures to a race of foreign intruders, while others like Andersson and Hübner published descriptions of stone-built kraals of the Transvaal and southern Matabeleland in the early 1870s. Mann, publishing Baines' field dairies, described the Shona processes for extracting gold from quartz. Adherents of the foreign-intruder hypothesis, on the other hand, overlooked the traveller's observations to buttress their own ideas of foreign exploiters of the gold reefs, utilizing extraction processes and building methods unknown to backward Africans, who built defensive works against the savage native. They would impose on the past, the carefully constructed fiction of the settler's life on the Rhodesian frontier.

At the time of Mauch's rediscovery of Great Zimbabwe, there were sufficient proofs at hand for reasonable people to place its massive construction into a context of African culture. Nevertheless, 30 years would pass before the site was visited by an archaeologist trained in the techniques of systematic archaeology, able to discriminate the assessment of his excavated findings, from a conventionally held view presuming a result. The inquiries of Bent and Peters and the readings of others expected a foreign intervention in the past of south central Africa. They disregarded African pottery found in excavations as irrelevant to the problem. Objects of obvious recent manufacture were relegated to the distant past and decorations of traditional usage deemed the product of an alien intelligence. They construed a model of ancient Semitic religions and imposed this model on the remains of an African lifeway.

Distracted by the Ophir paradigm and the conventional methods of antiquarianism, their assessments gave credence to ideas of a race of foreigners of biblical times living and exploiting the mineral wealth of the plateau. As the 20th century began, the presence of Great Zimbabwe in south central Africa was still considered a problem. Opinion was split between those promoting ancient, non-African builders and those supporting the idea of an African origin. As a result the British Association, once again, commissioned an archaeological investigation of Great Zimbabwe and similar sites. It would disprove, though fail to put to rest, the foreign intruder explanation.

Trigger and M. Hall discuss the political motivations of the *foreign intruders* theorists. As the 20th century began, the unrest surrounding African resistance to Company control in 1896 and the end of the South African War made the British dominant in southern Africa. With it came the development of settler communities in Rhodesia and, within these communities, a self-justifying parochialism concerning the native peoples and the history of the plateau. Whereas investigations by Bent were played out to an international audience, the surveying of the zimbabwe by settler savants was noted locally for the most part. Research published in non-English-language journals and international newspaper coverage fell off significantly. The British Association commissioned investigations at Great Zimbabwe in 1905 and 1928, but locally based investigators account for the bulk of the research during the years before the First World War.

Meetings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association became their forum, describing architecture, musing over significance. These investigations display amateur observation and conventional assessments, conforming to the ancient builders paradigm for the most part. Their reports presume high antiquity and foreign builders, but they are not without merit as good field archaeology, recording the details of one Zimbabwe or another.

A frequent corollary to the *foreign intruders* hypothesis was the presumption that ancient settlers, by intermarrying with the local people, vanished as a separate racial entity. Selous, Johnston and others declared that the local African populations still retained physical characteristics inherited from the ancient Semitic settlers. Torrend and Crabtree even sought Semitic roots in the local languages. Another argument used by Hall and Selous suggested that the ruins displayed a gradual decline in the proficiency of the builders as a result of progressive miscegenation.

Although Selous is often cited as declaring an African origin of the buildings, his testimony is that the construction is crude, the product of a rude, rather than an advanced race. Venning, too, finds Great Zimbabwe crudely constructed in the African fashion.

After 1905 and the publication of Randall-MacIver's research, one would have assumed that the matter of the identity of the builders had been settled, the buildings securely dated, and subsequent research devoted to detailed studies and technical field archaeology. Instead, settler resistance to the conclusions of Randall-MacIver and later to the confirmations of Caton-Thompson developed around the investigations of R. N. Hall. Ostensibly, a journalist and agent for Cecil Rhodes, Hall was appointed curator of Great Zimbabwe, which he excavated, clearing big areas, destroying the archaeological context in many places. Energetically promoting the foreign intruder thesis inherited from Bent and his investigations of a decade earlier, Hall challenged the conclusions of the professional archaeologists and put forward his own of a Sabaean colony, living and mining, in south central Africa, during some period of great antiquity.

One other response to the British Association's meeting in southern Africa was a posture of scientific and academic normality in the form of a survey of the state of science in the settler communities: Flint, W. and J.D.F. Gilchrist, eds. *Science in South Africa: A Handbook and Review*. Cape Town, Pretoria and Bulawayo: T. Maskew Miller. 1905.

This survey of the state of research in the physical, natural and social sciences includes a summary of the progress of investigations at Great Zimbabwe, by Hall.

[Richard N. Hall](#)

[Hall and W. G. Neal](#)

455. Hall, R. N., and W. G. Neal. *The Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia (Monomatapa imperium)*. London: Menthuen, 1902.

Illustrated compilation of field observations at some zimbabwes, along with analyses designed to show a four-phase construction sequence at Great Zimbabwe with a period of initial settlement in the second

millennium B.C. by Sabaeans from the Arabian peninsular, who exploited the local gold-bearing deposits. They were later followed by the Phoenicians. Subsequent periods of decline were brought on by contact with the native people. Illustrated with maps, photographs and line drawings of finds.

456. Hall, R. N., and W. G. Neal. "Architecture and Construction of Ancient Ruins in Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 2 (1904): 5-28.

Paper read February 1901 summarizing conclusions from field observations of stone-built enclosures throughout Zimbabwe, Preliminary account of field observations published by Hall and Neal in 1902. J. Withers Gill criticizes conclusions and the attitudes expressed by the authors.

Reviewers of Hall and Neal

457. Anonymous. "Hall and Neal, Prehistoric Rhodesia and Keane, The Gold of Ophir." *Athenaeum* 3883 (29 March 1902): 389—91.
Review article examines the data in Hall and Neal's volume of 1902 and the hypotheses of Keane published in 1901.
458. Keane, A. H. "Rhodesia and Ophir." *Nature* 66.697 (1902): 34— 35.
Illustrated discussion of the conclusions in Hall and Neal's *Ancient Ruins of Rhodesia* of 1902.

About R. N. Hall

459. Anonymous. "The Ruins at Zimbabwe." *The Times* 2 August 1902, 3.
Reuters reports work in progress at Great Zimbabwe, 460. Anonymous. "The Rhodesian Ruins: Further Explorations at Great Zimbabwe." *Athenaeum* 3932 (7 March 1903): 313.
Summary of recent investigations at Great Zimbabwe by R. N. Hall.
461. The Architect. "Zimbabwe Ruins." *Scientific American Supplement* 55.1410 (1903): 22602.
R. N. Hall newly appointed as temporary curator of Great Zimbabwe begins clearing the vegetation and rubbish now concealing and

destroying buildings while uncovering architectural features and other finds.

Hall: "Great Zimbabwe...."

462. Hall, R. N. *Great Zimbabwe, Mashonaland, Rhodesia: An Account of Two Years Examination Work in 1902—4 on Behalf of the Government of Rhodesia*. London: Methuen, 1905.

Illustrated and detailed report of excavations at Great Zimbabwe.

And Its Reviewers

463. Anonymous. "Untitled Review of Hall's *Great Zimbabwe*," *Journal of the African Society* 4 (1905): 383.

Generally favorable review receptive of idea that an Arabian origin is now "fully established."

464. White, F. "Review of Hall's *The Great Zimbabwe*" *Man* 5 (1905): Article 61.

Generally favorable review of Hall's *Great Zimbabwe* of 1905.

Prehistoric Rhodesia....

465. Hall, R. N. *Pre-historic Rhodesia: An Examination of the Ethnological and Anthropological Evidences of the Origin and Age of the Rock Mines and Stone Buildings with a Gazetteer of Medieval South-central Africa*. London: Methuen, 1909.

Sustained rebuttal to Randall-MacIver and his scheme of gradual accretional change. Affirms his earlier arguments by attributing an innate decadence to Africans, which renders them incapable of impressive works without foreign intervention.

And a Review

466. Johnston, H. H. "Prehistoric Rhodesia." *The Geographical Journal* 34 (1909): 562-64.

The history of discovery and investigation of the zimbabwes and earlier speculations over their age and origins. Argues that neither Randall-MacIver nor Hall offers a provable hypotheses. Accepts premise that the zimbabwes originated as a result of the gold trade and argues from ethnographic and linguistic evidence Africans had no interest in the exploitation of gold except under the influence of the Arabs and the Portuguese. Regards this volume as a re-statement of Hall's *Great Zimbabwe* and of little use in advancing a solution to the mystery of Great Zimbabwe.

Reports by R. N. Hall

467. Hall, R. N. "Great Zimbabwe." *South African Journal of Science* 1 (1903): 504-15.

Detailed description of architectural features at Great Zimbabwe and an interpretation of author's 1902-3 investigations. Emphasizes the maze of passageways cleared in the Great Enclosure and architectural details of the Philips ruin in the Valley of Ruins.

468. Hall, R. N. "The Great Zimbabwe." *Journal of the African Society* 4 (1905): 295-300.

Illustrated presentation from October 1904 with photographs of Great Zimbabwe. Posits that the older portions represent the remains of a colony of Saba or Sheba, positing a sea-borne Sabaean empire and southern Africa as Ophir of the Old Testament.

469. Hall, R. N. "Recent Explorations at Great Zimbabwe." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science—1904* 74 (1905): 701.

Abstract of paper from August 1904. Details of excavations during the previous two years in a part of the site believed to date to the 13th and 14th centuries.

470. Hall, R. N. "Ancient Architecture at Great Zimbabwe (Rhodesia)." *Journal of the Society of Art* 53.2733 (1905): 563-68.

History of investigations as well as an interpretation and description of Great Zimbabwe.

471. Hall, R. N. "Rhodesian Antiquities." *Science in South Africa: A Handbook and Review*. Ed. W. Flint and J. D. F. Gilchrist. Cape Town, Pretoria and Bulawayo: T. Maskew Miller, 1905. 109-21.
Illustrated survey of recently completed work at Great Zimbabwe and Inyanga.

The Conical Tower at Great Zimbabwe

472. Hall, R. N. "The Conical Tower at Zimbabwe: An Evidence of Asiatic Influence." *African Monthly* 3 (1907): 473—478; 582—584.
Statistical data on the Conical Tower in the Great Enclosure and arguments in refutation of the conclusions of Randall-MacIver. Posits that Randall-MacIver mistaken in believing that there was a third smaller conical structure that was disturbed by gold hunters by reference to observations of Bent, members of the Pioneer column, and the Posselts. Supports his contention of non-African influence at Great Zimbabwe from a set of correspondences between architectural features there and characteristic features associated with Egyptian, Indian, Babylonian, Assyria, and other ancient Semitic cultures Concluding section in *African Monthly* 4 (1908): 21—25.

The Majiri Ruins

473. Hall, R. N. "Majiri Ruins, Motirikoi (M'telekwe) Valley." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 4 (1905): 83—86.
Illustrated description of a stone enclosure near Great Zimbabwe.
Described as one of a chain of forts constructed along the route between Sofala and the gold fields of the plateau.

Some Ethnographic Observations by Hall

474. Hall, R. N. "Notes on the Traditions of South African Races: Especially of the Makalanga of Mashonaland." *African Monthly* 1

(1907): 288-310.

Traditional accounts from published sources and field observation of the history and lifeways of indigenous cultures in south central Africa. Pp. 308—310 relate traditions about Great Zimbabwe, said to imply great age and refute the arguments of Randall-MacIver.

475. Hall, R. N. "By Untrodden Paths in Mashonaland." *African Monthly* 1.3 (1907): 299-307.

Somewhat breathless account of people and places in the vicinity of Great Zimbabwe.

[A Controversy over the Builders](#)

476. Hall, R. N. "Human Remains in Rhodesian Ruins." *The Geographical Journal* 34 (1909): 577—78.

Argues that Shruballs's identification of skeletons from a Zimbabwe has no relevance to the controversy over the builders, since the negro remains could have been interred any time since the abandonment of the settlement by the original owners. Disavows presumed "pre-Ruin" provenience for skeletons beneath the floor of the Chum ruin.

477. Shruballs, F. C. "A Brief Note on Two Crania and Some Long Bones from Ancient Ruins in Rhodesia." *Man* 9 (1909): article 41.

Illustrated analysis of skeletal material associated with the Chum Zimbabwe. Concludes that the skeletons were negroes and that country already populated by negroes at the time of construction. This conclusion evoked a response by Hall in 1909 and a rejoinder by Shruballs later that year. The problem addressed is not only about the builders of the zimbabwes but the date of the entrance of Bantu speakers into southern Africa. Opinion at the time held them to be late arrivals.

478. Shruballs, F. C. "Human Remains in Rhodesian Ruins." *The Geographical Journal* 34 (1909): 691.

Response to Hall's criticism. States the reasons for his assumptions of the provenience of the Chum skeletons as reported earlier. Argues that the publications of Hall fixed the skeletons under the original floor of the ruin. Re-affirms claim that if the published provenience is correct,

one confidently asserts settlement of the area by a Negro population prior to the construction of the zimbabwes.

Franklin White

Great Zimbabwe

479. White, F. "Notes on the Great Zimbabwe Elliptical Ruin." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 35 (1905): 39-47.

Illustrated description of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe with sketch plan and photographs. Critiques the measurement data offered by Swan.

480. White, F. "The Large Elliptical Ruin at Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 5 (1905): 11—20.

Illustrated field surveys of Great Zimbabwe with scale plan and description of the Great Enclosure.

The Bulawayo Area: Khami, Regina and Dhlo Dhlo

481. White, F. "On the Khami Ruins." *Man* 1 (1901): article 82.

Field trip to the Kharni site outside Bulawayo, descriptive of the surface remains and some finds. Proposes a 3-stage building sequence; a primitive pre-building stone age, a building period associated with the gold trade, and a final mud hut period.

482. White, F. "On the Ruins of Dhlo-Dhlo in Rhodesia." *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 31 (1901): pp. 21-28.

Illustrated field investigations at Dhlo-Dhlo, with detailed map and photographs of ornamental walling. Attributed to a Phoenician settlement of 2300 years ago.

483. White, F. "The Lesser Known Ruins in Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 1 (1903): 480-91.

Illustrated field surveys of Regina and Khami.

484. White, F. "On the Khami Ruins, Near Bulawayo." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 1 (1903): 11-18.
Paper read May 1900. Illustrated field surveys of Khami, positing three episodes of occupation, the second of which produced the stone walling.
485. White, F. "Observations on Recent Discoveries at Ancient Ruins." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 4 (1905): 14-20.
Paper read April 1903. Illustrated field surveys at Khami, Dhlo Dhlo and the Regina sites, with a commentary, photographs and sketch maps of each.

[The Lumene Site](#)

486. White, F. "Description of the Lumene Ruins." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 5 (1905): 5-7.
Paper read January 1905. Illustrated description of a small stonewalled site in Gwanda district of western Zimbabwe. Sketch map and photographs of the posited station in a line of guard houses designed to protect communications between Great Zimbabwe and Khami

[Edward M. Andrews and the Webster Site](#)

[Reports by Andrews](#)

487. Andrews, E. M. "Notes on the Webster Ruin." *Man* 6 (1906): article 88.
Field survey, description, measurements and plan, concluding that the site is a royal tomb.
488. Andrews, E. M. "The Webster Ruins." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 7 (1907).
Illustrated field surveys of the Webster site.
489. Andrews, E. M. "The "Webster" Ruin in Southern Rhodesia, Africa." *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* 50 (1907): 35—47.
Illustrated field investigations on the Webster Farm in south west

Zimbabwe and the stone walling at the nearby Ichickiwanda site, which is said to resemble that at Inyanga. A field diary details the daily progress of excavations, photographs of walling, drawings of locally produced artifacts and sketches of Chinese pottery. The most detailed of Andrews's reports of the Webster site.

490. Andrews, E. M. "Note on the Webster Ruin, Rhodesia." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science-1906* 76 (1907): 691.

Detailed abstract of a paper presented in August 1906.

[A Report of Andrews' Investigations](#)

491. Anonymous. "The Webster Ruin in Southern Rhodesia: Interesting Archaeological Relics." *Scientific American Supplement* 65.1675 (8 February 1908): 92-93.

Illustrated account of on-going field survey and excavations.

[Other Investigators and Commentators](#)

[Great Zimbabwe](#)

492. Douslin, H. B. "Recent Explorations at Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 20 (1922): 12—15.

Paper presented August 1921. Describes Great Zimbabwe, the deteriorating condition of the buildings, and the results of a small-scale excavation.

493. Dumat, H. A. "The Great Zimbabwe Ruins." *Natal Society for the Advancement of Science and Art*. 1918.

Illustrated description of Great Zimbabwe, which suggests that it was built by the Cathaginians, following the fall of Carthage to the Romans in the first century.

494. Masey, F. E. "Zimbabwe: An Architect's Notes." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 11 (1911): 37—56.

Paper read January 1911. Illustrated description of Great Zimbabwe, speculations on its origin and survey data on the building methods. Posits that the site presents the remains of a rude African civilization but affected by foreign influence and that the "Zimbabwe people" had a trading relationship with people from southern Arabia.

495. Mennell, F. P. "The Zimbabwe Ruins, Near Victoria, Southern Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 3 (1904): 69-84.

Paper presented November 1902. Describes the area around Great Zimbabwe, the circumstances at the site, its architecture, and some effects of the explorations there. Disputes Swan's study of the orientation of the site. Speculates on its origins, discounting a foundation by Phoenicians, while suggesting that south central Africa was a source of gold in antiquity.

496. Venning, J. H. "Notes on Southern Rhodesia Ruins in Victoria District." *Journal of the African Society* 1 (1908): 150-58.
Contrary to many other published opinions of the time, describes Great Zimbabwe, and other stone enclosures in northeast Zimbabwe as built in an African manner. Argues that Great Zimbabwe was built by "Varowse," the once powerful ancestors of the Shona.

Khami and the Bulawayo Area

497. Balfour, H. "Flint Engraved Pottery from the Ruins at Khami and Dhlo-Dhlo, Rhodesia." *Man* 6 (1906): article 11.
Illustrated description of engraved pottery from field trip described by Andrews in 1906.

498. Flinden-Petrie, W. M. "Beads from Buluwayo." *Man* 4 (1904); article 70.
Description and identification of medieval Egyptian glass beads from an archaeological locality near Bulawayo.

499. Garbutt, H. W., and J. P. Johnson. "Hut at Khami Ruins, Rhodesia." *Man* 12 (1912): article 56.
Five roomed structure at Khami; transcript of oral tradition of pre Ndebele inhabitants. Argues zimbabwes built by "Varoswe."

Great Zimbabwe and Khami

500. Boscawen Wright, W. "Ancient Ruins on the Belingwe Road." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 3 (1904): 59-61.
Paper presented July 1902. Observations at a series of stone enclosures, purported to mark a line of hill forts guarding an ancient road between Great Zimbabwe and Khami.
501. Geare, R. I. "Recently Discovered Ruins in Rhodesia." *Scientific American* 94.11 (17 March 1906): 231-32.
Illustrated description of some stone-walled sites, including Great Zimbabwe, Dhlo Dhlo, Khami and the stone terracing at Inyanga.
502. Withers Gill, J. "A Comparison Between the Ruins at the Khami River and at Zimbabwe." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 1 (1903): 9—10.
Summary of paper read April 1900. Differences in architectural details between these two zimbabwes. Posits them as products of the same time and people. Mentions finds of gold and silver in these sites and suggests their use as smelting furnaces by an ancient architecturally advanced people.

Naletale

503. Leybourne Popham, J. "Notes on the N'Natali Ruin." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 4 (1905): 67—70.
Illustrated description of a field survey of this stone enclosure in western Zimbabwe. Remarks, a measured sketch plan and architectural details.

Umnukwane

504. Porter, J. "Umnukwane Ruins." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 5 (1906): plates 10-12.
Photographs of the stone walling at Umnukwane.

Some Ethnographic Observations

505. Hammond Tooke, W. "Uncivilized Man South of the Zambesi." *Science in South Africa: A Handbook and Review*. Ed. W. Flint and J. D. F. Gilchrist. Cape Town, Pretoria and Bulawayo: T Maskew Miller, 1905. 79—101.
Survey of the native peoples of southern Africa by tribe. Compares the Zimbaohe or Zimbabwe of the Portuguese histories with the Ginginghlovu of Shaka.

Some Language Studies

506. Crabtree, W. A. "Bantu Speech: A Philological Study." *Journal of the African Society* 17 (1918): 307-13.
Also in Vols. 18 and 19. Suggests north Semitic elements found in local Bantu languages from contact with early Semitic settlement at Great Zimbabwe.
507. Torrend, J. "The Sabaeans on the Zambesi." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 5 (1905): 40—54.
Study of Semitic influences on the languages and folkways of the people of the lower Zambezi valley. P. 51 begins a short comment on the meaning of the word Zimbabwe.

Some Interpretative Opinions

508. Johnson, F. "Rhodesia: Its Present and Future." *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute* 33 (1901): 1—33.
The healthy climate and mineral wealth of the plateau. Construes the quantities of minerals extracted in antiquity, equating mineralized Zambesia with Ophir.
509. Johnston, H. H. "The Land of Zinj." *Journal of the African Society* 12 (1913): 354-58.
Review of Kigand's *The Land of Zinj*, in which Johnston draws attention

to resemblances between towers at Great Zimbabwe and minarets of early Arab mosques.

510. Wilmot, A. "Monomatapa and Ophir." *South African Geographical Journal* 1 (1917): 34-35.

Distinguishes between the Bantu Monomatapa state and the ancient mining operations associated with Ophir.

511. Worsford, W. B. *The Union of South Africa, with chapters on Rhodesia and the Native Territories of the High Commission*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1913.

Popular description of southern Africa, meant to describe the history, features and occupations of the settler communities of the subcontinent. Brief discussion of the migration of the Bantu into lands occupied by the San, followed by a long discussion of the Semitic occupation of southern Africa, during antiquity, drawing its information from conventional arguments of the time and the research of Bent and Hall.

Systematic Excavations— 1905-1945

When the British Association for the Advancement of Science scheduled its 1905 meetings in South Africa, it set itself the task of solving the problem of Great Zimbabwe. A decade earlier, it prompted investigations by Bent and Swan. Once again, it called on an archaeologist with Middle Eastern experience, but one schooled in a different methodology than that of the 19th antiquarians. Bent saw the fragments of African pottery in his excavations as irrelevant, David Randall-MacIver saw them as a clue toward elucidation. Bent dug to locate objects datable by their association with the cultures of the ancient world; so did Randall-MacIver, who also drew inferences from provenience, noting consistent stratigraphic patterns in the sites. His excavations and conclusions are not without question. But, whatever fault we see in his investigation stems more from advances in technique and hindsight, than a flawed routine or misconception. One still feels comfortable with the research paradigm of his inquiry. The field evidence was sifted, sorted and assessed before conclusions were drawn.

He reported the buildings at Great Zimbabwe to be of an essentially African origin. He explained that African-made pottery, with affinities to modern wares, was found beneath the foundations. Since the building must postdate the deposition of the pottery, the sites must be as late or later than the pottery. They must date from a more recent time, than that attributed to them by the antiquarians. All this is fairly reasonable. And there the matter should have stood, except for the intransigence of the setder savants, who required an older more exotic connection for the sites. Randall-MacIver argued, that he had replaced the romance of ancient setders with another romance of Africa's making. But few responded to that particular dalliance.

As a result, a quarter of a century later, the British Association, once more meeting in South Africa, commissioned another young archaeologist to investigate the question of the origin and affinities of the ruins sites, Gertrude Caton-Thompson in 1929 excavated a structure, the Maund Ruin, in the valley at Great Zimbabwe and reported results similar to those of Randall-MacIver, The sites were of African origin, and the contents of the sites were of African manufacture and medieval in date, to some sometime around the 12th century. She dated Great Zimbabwe slightly later than

Randall-Maclver, and her analyses of the pottery discriminated a finer sequence than his. She noted an earlier occupation of the site, also African in origin, and now known to be allied with the Early Iron Age. Hers was the last major investigation until after the Second World War. A German investigation of 1928 was published by Wieschhoff in the United States, in 1941 (110). These three publications remained the linchpins of serious assessments of Great Zimbabwe and debate on its significance until new investigations were begun in the 1950s.

In due course, a second bout of field archaeology conducted by local enthusiasts, Jones and Schofield, was initiated. The stone enclosure sites were still recorded and assessments offered, but this time, the explanations are governed by an "essentially African" paradigm. Nevertheless, during the period between the World Wars, the volume of interest in the archaeology of south central Africa and the monumental sites in particular is reduced significantly.

David Randall-Maclver, 1905

Randall-Maclver's argument of an essentially African origin for the stone-built zimbabwes was challenged by R. N. Hall in 1909 and by Hall and Keane in their comments on Randall-Maclver's presentation to the Royal Geographical Society.

Randall-Maclver authored an excellent essay on the *Zimbabwe* ruins in the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

The Research of Randall-Maclver

512. Randall-Maclver, D. "Report on Ruins in Rhodesia." *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science-1905* 75 (1906): 301-304.

Abstract of an influential lecture reported on by von Luschan and *The Times* and delivered in Bulawayo, same content as the paper "Ruins in Rhodesia" delivered at the Johannesburg session of August 1905. First report of the results of field investigations at Rhodes Farm, at Inyanga,

the Niekerk Ruins, Umtali, Naletale, Dhlo Dhlo, Khami and Great Zimbabwe. Posits that there is no positive evidence in the archaeology for dating the sites to a remote age. Concludes that there is no doubt that the sites are the work of native Africans during the 14th and 15th centuries. Suggests that though current research has apparently destroyed a romance, the sites are more interesting now that they are not a parasitic growth from Arabia but a product of Africa itself.

513. Randall-MacIver, D. "The Rhodesian Ruins: Their Probable Origin and Significance." *The Geographical Journal* 21 (1906): 324-46.

Statement of the field evidence gained during his investigations in south central Africa. Argues the contention that the zimbabwes are of African origin and ought to be dated to the medieval age rather than to great antiquity. Suggests the zimbabwes no earlier than the 11th century. Cites Portuguese evidence for suggesting their use at the time of contact. This version of a public presentation is illustrated with a sketch map, photographs and line drawings. Pp. 336—347 contemporary debate upon the paper, at the Royal Geographical Society, including Keane and Hall, who argue against Randall-MacIver's conclusions and for a Semitic origin of the zimbabwes.

"Mediaeval Rhodesia. . . ."

514. Randall-MacIver, D. *Mediaeval Rhodesia*. London: MacMillan and Co., 1906.

Historically significant as the report of the first systematic excavations at Zimbabwe culture sites by a professional archaeologist trained in the methods of modern archaeology. Investigations include digs at Dhlo Dhlo, Naletale, Khami and Great Zimbabwe. This investigation important for its use of stratified excavation, determining a gradual development of the style of architecture towards the more finely done work at Great Zimbabwe, and formal ceramic analyses affirming Great Zimbabwe to be "essentially African" in origin. This work reprinted in 1971 in London by Frank Cass with an introductory note by B. M. Fagan.

[And a Review](#)

515. Harley, A. H. "Zimbabwe: A Re-statement of Its Problem, and a Solution." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 22 (1906): 575-84. Extended review article, assessing Randall-Maclver's *Mediaeval Rhodesia*. Examines the evidence from field investigations and the arguments inherent in the Randall-Maclver and Hall theses and concludes the medieval dating and African origins of the Zimbabwe sites as the more plausible within the canons of archaeology.

[Biographical](#)

516. Anonymous. "Dr. D. Randall-MacIver." *The Times* 3 May 1945, 17. Obituary notice. Summary of his life and career. A second illustrated obituary notice in *The New York Times* 1 May 1945, 23.

[Commentary on Randall-Maclver](#)

517. Anonymous. "The Ruins of Rhodesia." *The Times* 12 February 1906, 3.
Royal Geographical Society meeting on the afternoon of 11 February and the presentation of Randall-Maclver's investigations in south central Africa, its conclusions and the debate accompanying it.
518. Anonymous. "The Age of the Rhodesian Ruins." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 22 (1906): 103.
Randall-Maclver's arguments concerning a medieval dating of Great Zimbabwe and associated sites.
519. Durand, R. A. "Note on the Silver Pin Found at Dhlo-Dhlo by Mr. Randall-Maclver." *Man* 6 (1906): Article 56.
Suggests that the silver pin in the shape of a Maltese cross found at Dhlo-Dhlo by Randall-Maclver was possibly made in Africa by an African trained in silver working by Portuguese missionaries. Recounts oral tradition, gained from conversations with Catholic priests, that such

training was common in the past and that practice of silver working and a tentative Catholicism was retained in some families.

Some More Skeletal Evidence

As Shrubsall had, two decades earlier, Arthur Keith examined some human skeletons, found associated with ancient workings, and found them to be the bones of black Africans.

520. Anonymous. "Ancient Gold Mines of Rhodesia." *Journal of the African Society* 22 (1922): 157.

Long-standing debate on conflicting theories on the origin of the zimbabwes. That a skeleton from an old mine sent to Keith. Suggests that an Asiatic skeleton would argue for an intrusive group, but that an African one would only confirm Africans were employed in old mining operations.

521. Keith, A. "Report on Two Skeletons from Ancient Gold Mines in Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 22 (1924): 20-22.

Results of osteological analyses of two negro skeletons from ancient workings at Gwanda and Belingwe.

J. F. Schofield Surveys Great Zimbabwe

522. Schofield, J. F. "The 'Acropolis' at Zimbabwe." *Journal of the African Society* 23 (1923): 122-24.

Illustrated field survey of Great Zimbabwe. Detailed description of architectural details, intended to correct some measurements published by Dumat in 1918.

523. Schofield, J. F. "Zimbabwe: A Critical Examination of the Building Methods Employed." *The South African Journal of Science* 23 (1926): 971-87.

Detailed and illustrated description of the architecture and construction

of Great Zimbabwe. Offers structural plans and stratigraphic sections. Describes building methods, posits a developmental sequence and discusses the relevant material culture and its associations.

Gertrude Caton-Thompson, 1928

The Research of Caton-Thompson

524. Caton-Thompson, G. "Zimbabwe." *Antiquity* 3 (1929): 424—33.
Illustrated preliminary report of investigations, and results at Great Zimbabwe. A correspondent in *Antiquity* 4 (1930): 491—493, rejoins against her statement that the buildings are typical of Bantu architecture.
525. Caton-Thompson, G. "The Southern Rhodesian Ruins: Recent Archaeological Investigations." *Nature* 124 (19 October 1929): 619-21.
Detailed summary of field investigations at various localities in south central Africa.
526. Caton-Thompson, G. "Recent Excavations at Zimbabwe and other Ruins in Rhodesia." *Journal of the African Society* 29 (1930): 132-38.
Illustrated field investigations at Great Zimbabwe and other sites in the Sabi Reserve.
527. Caton-Thompson, G. "Excavations in the Rhodesian Ruins." *British Association for the Advancement of Science. Report of the Ninety-Seventh Meeting. South Africa 1929* 97 (1930): 368—69.
Summary of sites and excavations during her 1929 field season.
Concludes that the ruins are of native African origin and the building of the structures dates from a period between the 10th and 11th centuries.

Commentary on Caton-Thompson

528. Anonymous. "The Zimbabwe Ruins: 'Vigorous Native Civilization'" *The Times* 3 August (1929): 9.
Caton-Thompson reports to the British Association meeting in Johannesburg affirming the African origins of Great Zimbabwe.

529. Anonymous. "The Rhodesian Ruins Investigation." *The South African Architectural Record* (September 1929): 90-96.
Reprinted from *The Star*, 2 August. Report with a transcript of a substantial portion of Caton-Thompson's address to the British Association meeting in Johannesburg. Caton-Thompson surveys previous investigations and opinion before detailing the progress of her own research at an undisturbed part of the Maund ruin. Contends that it is inconceivable how a theory of antiquity in the sense of oriental archaeology could ever have been formulated by observant people and that the construction at Great Zimbabwe was the product of a vigorous native civilization, showing national organization of a high kind, originality and amazing industry. Illustrated with a plan and photographs. Caton-Thompson presented a similar report the following year during the British Association meeting in Southampton at a session chaired by Randall-MacIver.
530. Anonymous. "The Zimbabwe Ruins." *Nature* 124 (7 Sept 1929): 390-91.
Caton-Thompson's research in south central Africa.

[The Aerial Survey](#)

Complementary to Caton-Thompson's investigation was an aerial survey of major monumental sites. The first such survey in the history of southern African archaeology. The results were published in *Antiquity* and Caton-Thompson's own reports.

531. Crawford, O. G. S. "Brief Notes." *Antiquity* 3 (1929): 354.
Aerial photographic survey at Great Zimbabwe.

[Research and Commentary of the '20s and '30s.](#)

532. Maufe, H. B., and R. L. Hobson. "Antiquities from an 'Ancient Workings' in Southern Rhodesia." *Man* 32 (1932): Article 113.
Letters illustrated by photographs of pottery sherds found in the Mt. Darwin area. Some of the pottery identified as 17th-century Chinese and the rest as African pottery similar to Caton-Thompson's Class B.

533. Stevens, C. G. "The Zimbabwe Temple." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 61 (1931): 181—86.

Report of a survey of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe illustrated with a sketch plan as well as sketches and photographs showing different kinds of walling. Proposes a building sequence. Posits the building as a royal kraal and burial ground, which retained a ritual purpose after its abandonment.

[Of Ophir and Southern Arabians](#)

534. Rickard, T. A. *Man and Metals: A History of Mining in Relation to the Development of Civilization*. London and New York: Whittlesey House, 1932.

Illustrated history of metal in the development of civilization. Chapter 3 surveys the site of Ophir with relation to central African workings and dismisses any Phoenician connections.

535. Röder, J. "Altarabische Parallele zu den Simbabwe-Ruinen." *Paideuma* 2 (1941): 327-32.

Using aerial photographs of deserted Arabian stone walled towns published by Maidand in *Antiquity* in 1927, compares settlement pattern of the Arabian towns with southern African ones, suggesting that the style of architecture, multi-roomed interiors within an curved outer wall, originated in Arabia and, after passing into southern Ethiopia, diffused into the folkways of south central Africa. Illustrated with aerial photographs of the Arabian sites as well as drawings of stone enclosures and hut plans from the subcontinent.

[The Expedition of the Pharaoh Necho](#)

536. Taylor, M. "Did Pharaoh Necho's Minstrels Visit South Africa?:

Unique Rock Paintings Discovered in Southern Rhodesia, Including a Supposed Egyptian Band." *The Illustrated London News* 16 December (1927): 1058-59.

Illustrated, rock paintings at Rumwanda near Ndanga, Zimbabwe, said to depict an Egyptian band. Suggests that a ship's company, awaiting the

harvest during a circumnavigation of Africa, ventured inland along old trade road from Sofala, toured Great Zimbabwe and had their pictures painted.

Some Relevant Ethnographic Observations

537. Dart, R. A. "Phallic Objects in Southern Africa." *South African Journal of Science* 26 (1929): 553-62.

Comment on Bent and Hall's association of zimbabwes with a phallic cult. Illustrates cylindrical stone objects from Late Stone Age and later contexts and anecdotal evidence associating them with traditional ritual usages.

538. Stayt, H. A. "Notes on the Balemba: An Arabic-Bantu Tribe Living Among the Ba-Venda and Other Bantu Tribes in the North-west Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 61 (1931): 231—38.

Illustrated ethnography. Emphasizes traits said to set this group apart from other Bantu speakers. The characteristic traits are said to derive from Semitic sources. Styles the Balemba as descendants of early Arab traders, who settled the south east coast between the 12th and 16th century.

539. Trevor, T. G. "Some Observations on the Relics and Pre-European Culture in Rhodesia and South Africa ." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 60 (1930): 389—400.

The author, a long-time resident in Zimbabwe, first visited Great Zimbabwe in 1894 and spent the next 30 years in the "Rhodesias." Haphazard set of anecdotes and observations about African lifeways, stone ruins, architectural details, ancient workings, terracing and African traditions. Illustrated with photographs, including "palabora"-type copper rod ingots.z

Surveying, Systematizing and Synthesizing

The years preceding the Second World War had seen a decline in the attention paid to Great Zimbabwe by the international research community. The discovery of the Limpopo valley towns, Mapungubwe and Bambandyanalo, attracted some interest on the part of local archaeologists, who for the most part relegated these sites to Hottentot builders. Gregory in his 1929 letter to *The Times*, and the anthropologist Galloway, in his survey of the paleoanthropology of southern Africa, made a similar attribution for Great Zimbabwe. The Limpopo valley sites are treated in a later portion of the bibliography.

The years following the Second World War saw a new surge of interest in the prehistory of south central Africa. But the direction of that research was very different from that of the previous 100 years. Attention passed from the search for biblical confirmations, Stone Age manifestations or the monumental sites. With professional archaeologists, like Roger Summers, Keith Robinson and the geologist Cran Cooke, living in the territory and engaged full time in the conduct of archaeological research, it took a new turn. Now, simple settlements of subsistence farmers were important spheres of scientific interest.

Previously, Bantu farmers were regarded as late comers, who had come into the subcontinent within the past 200 years. They were perceived as having little of historical or archaeological interest worth studying; subject to a conservative nature, little inclined to innovation or change. In such an intellectual environment, Iron Age studies languished. By the mid-1950s, this situation had begun to change throughout the subcontinent. In Zimbabwe, Summers began to organize the large corpus of information available in Monument Commission files into a series of summaries about the prehistoric sequence. Robinson began extensive surveys. Cooke's research efforts were directed toward later Stone Age materials. Their summaries are listed in the pages above, and the Iron Age research in a later section.

Nevertheless, new work was begun at Great Zimbabwe and Khami, the major monumental sites of eastern and western Zimbabwe. Summers excavated at Inyanga and published the first radiocarbon dates from Great Zimbabwe. Summers, Robinson and Schofield opened new excavations at Great Zimbabwe, establishing stratigraphically defined sequences for ceramics and building stages, and Robinson opened a major assessment of Khami.

The Monumental Sites, Generally

540. Whitty, A. "A Classification of Prehistoric Stone Buildings in Mashonaland, Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 14 (1956): 57-71.
Excellent illustrated survey of the stone-walled architecture of northeastern Zimbabwe. Divides prehistoric building modes into four classes, each related to a different function. Field walling is associated with cattle enclosures; Inyanga-style buildings with human habitation; Zimbabwe-style buildings as prestige structures, associated with an elite minority; and hilltop refuges as later defensive works. A fifth class is Portuguese military posts.
541. Summers, R. F. H. "An Ancient Ivory Figure from Rhodesia." *Man* 49 (1949): Article 131. Illustrated depiction of a male figure carved sitting atop a short shaft.
542. Summers, R. F. H. "Rhodesian Ruins." *Occasional Papers of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia* 18 (1953): 495-507.
Distribution map, gazetteer and brief discussion of the stone enclosures and terraced sites in Zimbabwe and the contiguous Botswana, Mozambique and the Transvaal.

Investigations at Great Zimbabwe

[Robinson, Summers and Whitty](#)

543. Robinson, K. R. "Excavations on the Acropolis Hill." *Zimbabwe Excavations, 1958*. Ed. K. Robinson, R. Summers, and A. Whitty, Bulawayo: Occasional papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia, 23A, 1961. 159-92.
Report of excavations carried at Great Zimbabwe in 1958. Description of trench dug into a stratified deposit, used to delineate a four-part occupational sequence.
544. Robinson, K. R., R. F. H. Summers, and A. Whitty. "Zimbabwe Excavations, 1958." *Occasional Papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia* 23A (1961): 157—332.
Excavations at Great Zimbabwe in 1958, ostensibly by Robinson to establish the ceramic sequence; by Whitty to study the architectural sequence; and by Summers to re-excavate the Great Enclosure.
545. Summers, R. F. H. "Excavations in the Great Enclosure." *Zimbabwe Excavations, 1958*. Ed. K. Robinson, R. Summers, and A. Whitty. Bulawayo: Occasional papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia, 23A, 1961. 236-88.
Report of excavations carried at Great Zimbabwe in 1958, Description of a consistent stratigraphic sequence of clay *daga* wall fall, confirming the series of architectural styles described by Whitty.
546. Summers, R. F. H., and A. Whitty. "The Development of the Great Enclosure." *Zimbabwe Excavations, 1958*. Ed. K. Robinson, R. Summers, and A. Whitty. Bulawayo: Occasional papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia, 23A, 1961. 306-25.
Report of excavations carried at Great Zimbabwe in 1958, establishes validity of architectural sequence suggested by Whitty from the stratigraphic layering of the clay *daga* wall fall.
547. Whitty, A. "Architectural Style at Zimbabwe." *Zimbabwe Excavations, 1958*. Ed. K. Robinson, R. Summers, and A. Whitty. Bulawayo: Occasional papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia, 23A, 1961. 289—305.
Illustrated archaeological investigations at Great Zimbabwe in 1958. Details the architecture and building methods. Posits a classification of walling types. Re-affirms the building sequence posited by Randall-MacIver in 1906.

Other Investigations

548. Hodges, L. "New Light on Zimbabwe." *Africa Calls* 26 (1964): 6-15.
Commentary accompanying a set of aerial photographs of Great Zimbabwe.
549. Hoffman, A. C. "Did the Venda Peoples Build Zimbabwe." *South African Journal of Science* 54 (1958): 41—42.
Sifts claim of a BaVenda chief to a traditional association with Great Zimbabwe.
550. van der Sleen, W. G. N. "On the Origin of Some Zimbabwe Beads." *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. Cole. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 394.
Suggests that some beads discovered at Great Zimbabwe are of a type distributed through the Indian Ocean trade, rather than Egyptian or European ones.
551. Whitty, A. "The Origins of the Stone Architecture of Zimbabwe." *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. Cole. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 366-77.
Well-illustrated classification of the types and kinds of architectural features and building methods at Great Zimbabwe. Posits that the building methods autochthonous: beginning among the boulders on the Acropolis.

Gatehouse and Walton: A Small Debate

552. Gatehouse, R. P. "Prehistoric Stone Building." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 14 (1959): 147-48.
Illustrated. Posits walls on hilltop at Great Zimbabwe as a fortification not as screening for hut area behind as suggested by Whitty.
553. Gatehouse, R. P. "Great Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 15 (1960): 123-24.
Continues arguments of previous Gatehouse, re-positing consideration of the walling at Great Zimbabwe as a defensive work.
554. Walton, J. "The Western Enclosure of Zimbabwe Acropolis." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 15 (1960): 22. Illustrated response to

Gatehouse above. Suggests by example and observation the process by which walls developed through successive periods of occupation.

Some Investigations at Khami

555. Abraham, D. P. "Porcelain from Hill Ruin, Khami." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 17 (1962): 32-34.

Ethno-historical evidence of 16th-century Portuguese trading contacts with the Togwa dynasty at Khami. A response from Robinson follows.

556. Robinson, K. R. "Excavations at Khami Ruins, Matabeleland." *Third Pan-African Congress on Prehistory: Livingstone 1955*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. Cole. London: Chatto and Windus, 1957. 357-65.

Illustrated preliminary account of on-going field investigations at Khami.

557. Robinson, K. R. *Khami Ruins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Definitive illustrated account of archaeological investigations at the Khami site.

Some Evidence from Rock Art

558. Goodall, E. "Domestic Animals in Rock Art." *Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 41 (1946): 57-62.

Illustrated discussion of the depiction of sheep herding and shepherding people, presumably Hottentot, in the rock of Zimbabwe.

559. van Riet Lowe, C. "Rock Paintings and the Zimbabwe Culture." *South African Journal of Science* 45 (1949): 141—42.

Abstract of paper in the *Bulletin of the Sociedad de Estudos da Colonia de Mocambique*, April-September 1948. Suggests that rock paintings in southern Africa be investigated for evidence of pre-Zimbabwe foreign intruders searching for minerals and other wealth. Draws attention to

Boyles' thesis that the "White Lady of the Brandberg" painted by an Egyptian or Cretan knowledgeable in pre-Christian rituals.

The Anthropological Syntheses

The past few decades saw Garlake's comprehensive history of research at Great Zimbabwe and Huffman's explanation of the organization of social space at the monumental sites. Using a research regime grounded in the canons of cognitive anthropology, he reconstructed the world view and ideological underpinnings of central African societies. Huffman's melding of the reports of social anthropology and archaeological observation was a new approach toward explaining the monumental sites and the culture that produced them.

Otherwise, the period since the 1960s in southern Africa and archaeology at Great Zimbabwe were swayed by three occurrences. Two were political: Rhodesian resistance to African nationalism and the subsequent success of the independence party. Garlake described political constraints on research, as Great Zimbabwe became a symbol of national aspiration for the African nationalists, while Mufuka demonstrated the power of invented history in the establishment of the national epic. These matters as well as the role of invented tradition in shaping European African interaction in Rhodesia were treated earlier.

The third was directly involved with the primary research interests of archaeologists working in the country. A growing interest in the past of subsistence-farming communities reached full flower. At first, the stress was on the processes introducing the Iron Age to the plateau and initiated extensive areal surveys. At the same time, questions of local interest, such as the elucidation of regional successions, were investigated. These matters are addressed in a later section.

The present listing demonstrates some of the newer interest in reconstructing social patterning, analyses of food use patterns, as well as the traditional kinds of archaeological investigation. Interest in the structure of the Zimbabwean system became international with investigations at stone enclosures in Mozambique, the investigation of a trading outpost in the Zambezi valley, Ingombe Ilede, and surveys of Portuguese towns in Zimbabwe and Zambia.

560. Garlake, P. S, "Rhodesian Ruins—a Preliminary Assessment of Their Styles and Chronology. " *Journal of African History* 11 (1970): 495-513.

Detailed illustrated interpretation of research on the Great Zimbabwe-Khami complex. Posits a classification of seven architectural styles as represented at the different zimbabwes. Suggests a further division into two separate building episodes, each the product of separate but culturally related peoples. The first is found throughout the country during the 14th and 15th centuries and is related to the decline of Great Zimbabwe. The other is limited to southern Matabeleland and is associated with the rise of the Rozvi confederacy under the Changamire dynasty.

Investigations of Great Zimbabwe

Economy

561. Brain, C. K. "Human Food Remains from the Iron Age at Zimbabwe." *South African Journal of Science* 70 (1974): 303—309.
Illustrated analyses of faunal remains excavated by Hodges in 1971-72. Posits herds were kept in Acropolis area and that there is little sign of the exploitation of game.

Mining and Metallurgy

562. Dayton, J. E. "The Problem of Tin in the Ancient World" *World Archaeology* 3 (1971): 49-70.
Within a general survey of tin sources available to the ancient past, refers to tin pegmatites in the vicinity of Great Zimbabwe. Speculation on possibility of their exploitation by Arab traders after the 10th century.
563. Huffman, T. N. "Ancient Mining and Zimbabwe." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 238—42.
Summary overview of the history of investigations of and the archaeological sequence at Great Zimbabwe. Suggests that the gold trade was directly responsible for the eminence of Great Zimbabwe.

564. Phimister, I. R. "'Ancient' Mining Near Great Zimbabwe." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 233-37. Suggests that the mining of placer deposits of gold may have played some part in the development of Great Zimbabwe on its particular site.

The Great Enclosure and Domba: A Debate

565. Blacking, J. "The Great Enclosure and Domba." *Man (N S)* 20 (1985): 542-43.
Disputes Huffman's 1984 assertion that the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe should be associated with traditional Shona girl's initiation schools or *domba*. Posits an alternative ritual association for it, while suggesting Huffman disclaim all connection between *domba* and the Great Enclosure.
566. Huffman, T. N. "Expressive Space in the Zimbabwe Culture." *Man (n s)* 19 (1984): 593-612.
Illustrated discussion of the significance of the Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe as premarital initiation school. Posits that this model may be applied to similar buildings at related towns. Suggests that such initiation preparation was an integral part of the centralized political system.
567. Huffman, T. N. "Where You Are the Girls Gather to Play: The Great Enclosure at Great Zimbabwe." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 252—65.
Illustrated analysis of social space at Great Zimbabwe. Analysis of the layout of the Great Enclosure, suggesting that it may be identified with Shona girl's initiation schools, which the author suggests were a feature of the Zimbabwe state. Comparisons with similar structures at Khami, Tere, Majiri and Dhlo Dhlo reenforce his argument. Blacking, above, argued otherwise.
568. Huffman, T. N. "The Great Enclosure and Domba." *Man (n s)* 20 (1985): 543-45.
A response to Blacking's criticisms, suggesting that the cause of anthropology is aided by the introduction of new points of view.

[Matters of Chronology](#)

[The Controversial Lintels](#)

569. Summers, R. F. H. "The Dating of the Zimbabwe Ruins." *Antiquity* 29 (1955): 107-11.

Illustrated report of the discovery and radiocarbon dating of wood associated with the construction of a portion of Great Zimbabwe. Five dates in the range of 1200 to 1300 years ago and the stratigraphy at the find spot are presented. These first radiocarbon dates from Great Zimbabwe were questioned in 1979 by Huffman and J.C. Vogel, as being too early.

570. Huffman, T. N., and J. C. Vogel. "The Controversial Lintels from Great Zimbabwe." *Antiquity* 53 (1979): 55—57.

Intended to emend the date for Great Zimbabwe reported by Summers in 1955. Suggests that earlier radiocarbon dates from a wooden lintel are unreliable and too early. Presents a more extensive set of dates, which compresses the building sequence into a period between 13th and 15th centuries.

[Time Relative and Absolute](#)

571. Garlake, P. S. "The Value of Imported Ceramics in the Dating and Interpretation of the Rhodesian Iron Age." *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 13-33.

Detailed examination from published sources of the archaeological context and significance of materials imported from off the African continent and found at important zimbabwes. Suggests Great Zimbabwe had only negligible importance as a trading center at the time of the first Portuguese contacts with the interior of the plateau.

572. Huffman, T. N., and J. C. Vogel. "The Chronology of Great Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 46 (1991): 61—70.

Illustrated summary discussion of a series of 21 radiocarbon dates from Great Zimbabwe. Presents a short history of past attempts to establish a

date for the site. Posits that the main occupation associated with the building of stone walls occurred within a 200 year period, ending in the mid-15th century.

Ingombe Ilede, a Zambezi Valley Trading Town

Field Reports and Interpretation

573. Chaplin, J. H. "A Preliminary Account of Iron-Age Burials with Gold in the Gwembe Valley, Northern Rhodesia," *Proceedings of the First Federal Science Conference* 1 (1960): 397—406.

Illustrated field investigations at the Ingombe Ilede site, describes eight Iron Age burials and collection of exotic grave goods from a Zambezi valley trading center of the Mwene Matapa system. Describes copper currency crosses, gold beads, iron gongs and implements, and imported glass beads.

574. Fagan, B. M. "Isamu Pati; Ingombe Ilede; Kangila; Kalundu." *Inventaria Archaeologica Africana, Zambia Z1—Z4* (1966).

Reproduces illustrations found in Fagan's other publications of the field data from these sites.

575. Fagan, B. M. "Excavations at Ingombe Ilede, 1960-2." *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia, Vol. 2*. Ed. B. M. Fagan. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969. 57-161.

Detailed illustrated investigation of Ingombe Ilede, describes 16th-century agricultural settlement in the Gwembe valley and involvement with trade extending northwards to the Katanga copperbelt and south into southern Zambezia.

576. Fagan, B. M., D. W. Phillipson, and S. G. H. Daniels. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga) Volume 2*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1969.

Excavations at the Dambwa and Ingombe Ilede sites and later Iron Age material from the Batoka Plateau and the Ingombe Ilede area.

577. Lancaster, C. S., and A. Pohorilenko. "Ingombe Ilede and the Zimbabwe Culture." *The International Journal of African Historical*

Studies 10 (1977): 1-30.

Review from anthropological, archaeological and historical sources of the Zimbabwean trading system and its relationship to the Zambezi trade routes.

578. Phillipson, D. W. "Later Iron Age Sites in the Engombe Ilede Region," *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia. Vol. 2: Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede and the Tonga*. Ed. B. M. Fagan, D. W. Phillipson, and S. G. H. Daniels. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969. 162-84.

Illustrated inventory from field surveys of the 19th-century sites in the Gwembe valley.

[Chronology](#)

579. Phillipson, D. W., and B. M. Fagan. "The Date of the Ingombe Ilede Burials." *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 199—204.

Evidence recovered in the later excavations at the Ingombe Ilede site, supporting the argument that they may be dated to the period between the 14th to 15th century.

[Imported Commodities](#)

580. Bushnell, G. H. S. "Woven Textiles and Cords from Ingombe Ilede." *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia, Vol. 2*. Ed. B. M. Fagan. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969. 243—46.

Specialist description of cotton fabric from the Ingombe Ilede site. Suggests the cloth was imported from India.

581. Chaplin, J. H. "The Study of Beads." *Man* 65 (1965): article 154.

The distribution of gold beads at Ingombe Ilede. Corrects statements in du Toit 1965, below.

582. du Toit, A. P. "A Preliminary Survey of the Beads of Ingombe Ilede, Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 65 (1965): article 3.

Illustrated analysis and catalogue of the glass trade beads of Indian origin, at the Zambezi valley town of Ingombe Ilede.

Interregional Connections?

583. de Maret, P. "A Kikuyu—Ingombe Ilede Connection?" *Azania* 19 (1984): 132-34.

Illustrated description of some unusual iron hammers from the Zambezi valley and similar hammers from East Africa. Suggests upon linguistic and stylistic grounds the possibility of some connection between these two areas 2000 km apart.

Metalworking

584. Frey, E. "Methods of Goldworking at Ingombe Ilede." *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia*, Vol. 2. Ed. B. M. Fagan. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969. 237-38.

Specialist description of cast gold beads found at the Ingombe Ilede site and the means used to produce them.

The Lekkerwater Site, Southwestern Zimbabwe

585. Rudd, S. "Preliminary Report of Excavations, 1963—66 at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon, Rhodesia (National Monument 100)." *Proceedings and Transactions of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 52 (1968): 38-50.

Illustrated field investigations at a Zimbabwe near Marandellas.

Presents photographs and sketches of the structural remains. Posits three occupation phases, the second of which is dated to the 14th century.

586. Rudd, S. "Excavations at Lekkerwater Ruins, Tsindi Hill, Theydon." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 39 (1984): 83—105.

Detailed illustrated account field investigations and laboratory analyses of materials from hilltop Zimbabwe in south east Zimbabwe. Posits three occupations each marked by a different style of pottery and architecture. The earliest phase part of the Early Iron Age, while the later ones are associated with the construction of stone walling.

Apparently the site was abandoned in the early 19th century, though subsequently used as a refuge site.

587. Turner, G. "Vertebrate Remains from Lekkerwater." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 39 (1984): 106-08.

Specialist faunal analyses complement Rudd's analysis of the cultural remains. Volume of bovine bone associated with the earliest period of stone wall construction suggests a herding economy, though hunting is still evident in the later phases.

Khami, an Economic Study

588. Thorp, C. "A Cultural Interpretation of the Faunal Assemblage from Khami Hill Ruin." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984: 66-76.

Analysis of faunal materials recovered at the Khami Hill complex.

These are then compared to similar analyses of Great Zimbabwe faunal middens. Suggests that the small number of game remains in the Great Zimbabwe Acropolis middens was not the result of diminished game resources in the vicinity as is otherwise suggested but a result of different kinds of activity in the two sites. Suggests that some of the Khami Hill bone refuse was the result of *nganga* (the traditional healing practice using the bones of edible as well as non-edible species as divining dice). In contrast, the narrow range of hunted game represented in the middens at Great Zimbabwe would have been the selective result of domestic consumption of a smaller range of edible species.

Portuguese Interaction

589. Garlake, P. S. "Excavations at the Seventeenth Century Portuguese Site of Dambarare, Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 54 (1969): 23—61.

Illustrated field investigations at a Portuguese trading center in the hinterlands of the Zimbabwe exchange network.

590. Garlake, P. S. "Portuguese References and Copper Cross Ingots." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1970): 41—43.

Portuguese records of copper workings in the Urungwe district.

591. Huffman, T. N. "Cloth from the Iron Age in Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 5.14 (1971): 1-19.

Trade cloth located at the Komani site in northern Zimbabwe with bibliography of the rare finds of cloth reported by Hall and Neal in 1902, Caton-Thompson in 1931, Robinson in 1959, Fagan, Phillipson and Daniels in 1969 and Garlake in 1969.

592. Matthews, T. I. "Portuguese, Chikunda, and the Peoples of the Lower Gwembe Valley: The Impact of the 'Lower Zambezi Complex' on Southern Zambia." *Journal of African History* 22 (1981): 23-41.

Examines the 16th- to 17th-century history of African and Portuguese contacts and their effect upon the people of the Gwembe valley.

593. Phillipson, D. W. "Kasoko, a Portuguese Entrepot in the Middle Zambezi River." *Zambia Museums Journal* 3 (1972): 35—48.

Illustrated excavation at 19th-century Portuguese trading post in the Gwembe valley.

594. Pikirayi, I. "The Portuguese Phase of the Later Iron Age of Zimbabwe." *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa*. Ed. P. J. J. Sinclair and J. A. Rakotoarisoa. Stockholm: The Central Board of National Antiquities, 1990. 187—98.

Illustrated catalog of Portuguese sites located by archaeological survey in northern Zimbabwe.

[Northern Zimbabwe](#)

595. Garlake, P. S. "Excavations at the Nhunguza and Ruanga Ruins in Northern Mashonaland." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 27 (1973): 107-43.

Detailed illustrated field investigations at two Zimbabwe culture period stone enclosures. Posits an earlier occupation associated with the Musengezi style of pottery and a 13th-century occupation associated

with extension of Zimbabwe culture into northern Mashonaland. Importance of the investigation enhanced by the fact that sites not been disturbed by treasure hunters and an extensive evidence of material culture was recovered.

596. Garlake, P. S. "Iron Age Sites in the Urungwe District of Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1970): 25—44.

Illustrated field investigations in north western Zimbabwe. Excavations at the Chedzurgwe, Muyove and Nyarinde river sites. Suggests that the pottery from Chedzurgwe may be related, stylistically, to that from Ingombe Ilede, although there is little evidence of contact with coastal or plateau-based trade. A copper ingot of the St. Andrews cross type was found at Chedzurgwe though. Posits that the style of pottery at the Nyarinde river site is a later variant of that produced at Chedzurgwe. The pottery from Muyove is thought to resemble the Early Iron Age pottery of the Kapwirimbe group as defined by Phillipson in 1968 and 1969.

597. Huffman, T. N. "The Iron Age of the Buhwa District, Rhodesia." *Occasional papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia* 4.3 (1978): 81—100.

Illustrated archaeological survey in north west Zimbabwe. Inventories cultural remains from a spectrum of local manifestations, representing the Early Iron Age up to the period of Zimbabwe culture. Depicts local ceramics and figurines and plans of the stone walled settlements.

598. Pwiti, G. "The Great Zimbabwe Tradition in Northern Zimbabwe: The Mutapa State." *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa*. Ed. P. J. J. Sinclair and J. A. Rakotoarisoa. Stockholm: The Central Board of National Antiquities, 1990. 204-208.

Survey of information arising from investigation of stone enclosures in northern Zimbabwe. Suggests the presence of two separate styles of stone walling: an earlier mode related to the period of florescence at Great Zimbabwe and a later one related to the successor state centered on Mt. Fura.

599. Robins, P. A., and A. Whitty. "Excavations at Harleigh Farm, Near Rusape, Rhodesia, 1958-1962." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 21 (1966): 61-80.

Illustrated field investigations at three sites with stone enclosures in

north east Zimbabwe. Plans, stratigraphic sections and illustrations of ceramics and other material culture.

Settlement Archaeology

600. Huffman, T. N., and E. O. M. Hanisch. "Settlement Hierarchies in the Northern Transvaal: Zimbabwe Ruins and Venda History." *African Studies* 47 (1987): 79-116. Detailed illustrated discussion from archaeological and historical sources of the organization of settlement hierarchies.

Suggests that the settlement patterns describe a multi-leveled political structure.

601. Murambiwa, I. "Stratigraphy and Settlement Pattern at Great Zimbabwe and Khami." *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa*, Ed. P.J. J. Sinclair and J. A. Rakotoarisoa. Stockholm: The Central Board of National Antiquities, 1990. 198-99.

Recent research suggests that the settlement layout within these towns was significantly different. It is suggested therefore that there was a greater degree of social distance between elite and "commoner" occupants of the Khami site than was the case at Great Zimbabwe.

Southern Zimbabwe

602. Houser, T, "A Survey of Chipukuswi Ruin, Matibi No. 1, Rhodesia." *Rhodesiati Prehistory* 14 (1975): 25.

Illustrated description of field investigations at a small stonewalled Zimbabwe near Lundi bridge in southern Zimbabwe. Suggests that the remains of at least three clay *daga* huts were located, in addition to the stone walling, which is posited as dating to the florescence period of Zimbabwean culture.

Gold-bearing Burials

603. Taggart, C. "A Zimbabwe Period Burial Site." *Nyame Akutna* 28 (1987): 54-57.

Illustrated report field investigation of later Iron Age gold-bearing burials and remains of circular hut in northeast Zimbabwe. Grave goods include 170 gold beads as well as iron and copper bangles.

604. Walker, N. J. "Report on a Burial at Castle Kopje Wedza." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 46 (1991): 142—48.

Illustrated gold-bearing burial from the Zimbabwe phase in southern Zimbabwe. Suggests interment of an important individual. Table of sites in Zimbabwe with gold artifacts and a bibliography of such finds.

Ancient Stone Kraals in Southern Africa

Stone-built kraals or enclosures in southern Africa were remarked upon in the years prior to Mauch's journey to Great Zimbabwe. They form a distinct group of sites, related conceptually to the more dramatic zimbabwes but usually smaller in scale. Marking the bounds of habitation sites has a long history in the region. Settlements affiliated with the Leopard's Kopje culture in south western Zimbabwe marked edges with a single line of stones. Elsewhere a grass fence or stone wall was built. The following lists some observations of stone-built enclosures from the towns in the Limpopo valley to the more simple enclosures of the open grasslands of South Africa.

Some Early Travellers' Observations

605. Anderson, A. A. *Twenty-five Years in a Waggon in the Gold Regions of Africa*. London: Chapman and Hall, 1887.
Illustrated memoirs of colonial life and travel in British South Africa. Describes and depicts stone forts associated with an ancient people, perhaps the Kingdom of Sheba, as well as ancient mines on the Tati river and elsewhere throughout Matabeleland. A second edition, subtitled *Sport and Travel in South Africa* in one volume (1888), was reprinted in Cape Town: C. Struik (Pty) Ltd, 1974.
606. Bernhard, F. O. "Ancient Fortifications in Matabeleland." *Rhodesiana* 26 (1972): (44—47).
Illustrated translation of Hiibner's observations of 1871 annotated by C. K. Cooke, who identifies Hiibner's descriptions with known archaeological localities.
607. Fritsch, G. *Drei Jahren in Siidafrika*. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, k. Universitats-Buchhandlung, 1868. Memoir of travel and life in Transvaal, depicts and describes traditional stone built cattle kraals.

608. Hübner, A. "Ueber alte Befestigungen im Reich der Matabelen (Masili Katses Reich) in Siid-Ost-Afnka." *Zeitschrift für Ethnologic* 3 (1871): 53-56.

Illustrated survey in southern Matabeleland. Description of stonewalled enclosures attributed by the Matabele to the Shona, who occupied the area a half century earlier. The enclosures formed by low circular stone walls, one described as having evidence of smelting Bernhard, above, translated this article.

609. MacKenzie, J. "Bechuanaland, with Some Remarks on Mashonaland and Matabeleland." *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 3 (1887): 291-315. Characterizes stone forts observed in Mashonaland associated with ancient workings as the product of a strong race, like the Phoenicians, capable of holding the country and exploiting the gold reefs.

[Mapungubwe](#)

The Limpopo valley towns were first located in the late 1920s, investigated in the 1930s and published in the early 1960s. Summaries of the results of research at these sites are listed with the regional syntheses above. This lists reports of the sites, some research and some conclusions.

[Fouché, "Mapungubwe..."](#)

610. Fouché, L., editor. *Mapungubwe: Ancient Bantu Civilization on the Limpopo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937.

Illustrated collection of specialist reports of the investigations from February 1933 to June 1935 at the important early trading town at Mapungubwe Hill; originally begun by N.Jones and J. F. Schofield and continued by G. Gardner.

[And a Review](#)

611. Caton-Thompson, G., and G. M. Morant, reviewers. "Mapungubwe." *Antiquity* 13 (1939): 324-41.

Two extensive reviews of Fouche's edited volume, *Mapungubwe* (1937), published as a single article. Caton-Thompson critiques the excavations and culture on pp. 324-335; Morant, the skeletal remains on pp. 335-341. Disputes the published conclusions that the Limpopo valley sites were built by Khoisan people.

[Gardner, "Mapungubwe"](#)

612. Gardner, G. A, *Mapungubwe*. Pretoria: van Schalk, 1963.

Illustrated posthumous report of archaeological investigations conducted at Bambandyanalo (K2) and Mapungubwe in the middle Limpopo valley from 1935 to 1940. Completes a series of reports begun with the volume edited by Fouché in 1937.

[Mapungubwe, Generally](#)

613. Galloway, A. "Man in Africa in the Light of Recent Discoveries." *South African Journal of Science* 34 (1937): 89—120.

Extended survey of the archaeological evidence for the development of human physical types in Africa. Page 90 argues against assumption of a certain relationship between Bantu-speaking Negroes and occurrences of pottery. Cites archaeologists who would attribute Mapungubwe culture to Bantu-speaking Negroes counter to the conclusions of physical anthropology, which fixed the builders as Khoisan.

614. Gardner, G. A. "The Shallow Bowls of Mapungubwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 14 (1969): 35—37.

Illustrated comparison of the shape and style of decoration of a class of vessels found in the Limpopo valley with similar pottery found in graves at Coronation Park, Harare.

615. Paver, F. R, "The "Mystery Grave" of Mapungabwe." *The Illustrated London News* 182.4903 (1933): 494-95.

Illustrated description of a gold-bearing grave being investigated by

Fouche and Malan. Depicts gold beads, a gold bowl, other gold and iron objects. Photographs of the site.

616. Schofield, J. F. "The Pottery of the Mapungubwe District."

Mapungubwe: An Ancient Bantu Civilization on the Limpopo. Ed. L. Fouché. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937. 32—102.

Illustrated inventory and description of the archaeological ceramics and ethnographic pottery of the northern Transvaal.

617. van Riet Lowe, C. "Mapungubwe: First Report on Excavations in the Northern Transvaal." *Antiquity* 10 (1936): 282-91.

Preliminary notice of field investigations at Mapungubwe and Bambandyanalo in the Limpopo valley. Suggests that these sites were two members of a set of similar medieval settlements in the northern Transvaal. Posits that they seem to provide a link between Great Zimbabwe and modern Venda settlements in the Zoutpansberg. Suggests that Bambandyanalo is somewhat older and not connected culturally with Mapungubwe. Other notices in *Antiquity* include 8 (1934): 103; 9 (1935): 101, and 9 (1935): 358. The first two refer to news accounts in *Africa World* 28 Oct. 1933 and 13 Oct. 1934.

618. Voight, E. A. *Mapungubwe: An Archaeological Interpretation of an Iron Age Community*. Pretoria: Transvaal Museum Monograph no. 1, 1983.

Highly detailed and illustrated specialist study of the Iron Age faunal assemblages at Mapungubwe and K2 in the northern Transvaal. Species exploited, the butchering techniques and proportions of domestic to wild species utilized as well as other facets of meat use in the local diet. Suggests that the numbers of ivory chips located are related to the importance of trade in the local economy.

The Ancient Mines of the Transvaal

The following articles assume an ancient non-Bantu origin for the extensive pre-European mining effort in the Transvaal.

619. Baumann, M. "Ancient Tin Mines of the Transvaal." *The Journal of the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa* 19 (February 1919): 120-32.

Illustrated detailed inventory of ancient workings, analyses of metal and descriptions of tin artifacts, in particular, the deposits of Palabora and Messina. Posits that the mines originated in antiquity and that the ancient tin miners were the contemporaries of the builders of Great Zimbabwe. In order to reconcile the purported age of the mines and evidence of recent working suggests that the ancient miners left behind Bantu, trained in the operation of these workings, who continued to exploit the copper and tin sources until recently.

620. Trevor, T. G. "Some Observations on Ancient Mine Workings in the Transvaal." *The Journal of the Chemical, Metallurgical and Mining Society of South Africa* 12 (January 1912): 267-75.

Illustrated detailed inventory of pre-European mines, divided into small workings for iron and copper worked by the Bantu and therefore presumably modern and those mines of great extent, for gold, tin or copper, and presumably ancient in origin. Suggests that ancient mines were worked by the same people, who mined gold north of the Limpopo, presumably a Semitic folk from southern Arabia.

Stone-built Enclosures of Southern Africa

621. Walton, J. "Corbelled Stone Huts in Southern Africa." *Man* 51 (1951): article 82.

Illustrated description, history, architecture, and distribution of stone-walled huts in southern Africa.

Southern Zambia, A Singular Occurrence

622. Anderson, F. V. "Low Stone Banks or Walls in the Mazabuka District." *Northern Rhodesian Journal* 5 (1962): 190-91.

Field observations on architectural features said to predate European settlement.

[South Africa, An Architectural Mode](#)

623. Maggs, T. M. O'C. *Iron Age Communities of the Southern Highveld*. Pietermaritzburg: The Council of the Natal Museum, 1976.
Illustrated and wide-ranging archaeological and aerial survey of abandoned settlements on the interior plateau of South Africa. Photographs demonstrate a typology of settlement layouts, which are explored by a selected set of highly detailed excavations.

[The Transvaal](#)

624. Collett, D. P. "Excavations of Stone-walled Ruins Types in the Badfontein Valley, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 34—43.
Field investigation of stone-walled structures in the eastern Transvaal. Suggests that pottery found may be related to historic Pedi wares and that the different kinds of stone-walled structure each served different functions.
625. Collett, D. P. "Ruin Distribution in the Stone-walled Settlements of the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Journal of Science* 78 (1982): 39—40.
Identification and geographical distribution of two types of stone-built settlement: one termed complex and the other simple. Posits they are have different distributions.
626. de Vaal, J. B. "'N Soutpansbergse Zimbabwe: 'N Voorlopige Ondersoek Van 'N Bouval Op die Plaas Solvent." *South African Journal of Science* 40 (1943): 303-22.
Illustrated inventory of stone enclosures in the northern Transvaal, and a description of material from the Early Iron Age site known as Happy Rest.
627. Hoernlé, R. F. A., and? [sic] Hoernlé. "The Stone Hut Settlement on Tafelkop, Near Bethal." *Bantu Studies* 4 (1930): 33-45.
Description of stone hut site in eastern Transvaal and the distribution of stone hut sites, illustrated with scale drawings and photographs.
628. Jones, T. R. "Prehistoric Stone Structures in the Magaliesberg Valley, Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 32 (1935): 528-36.

Illustrated field investigations at stone built sites, in the vicinity of Pretoria. Ground plans of stone structures and sketches of pottery fragments and a clay pipe. Describes the circumstances of the burial of two children.

629. Laidler, P. W. "The Archaeology of Certain Prehistoric Settlements in the Heilbron Area." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 23 (1936): 23-70.

Illustrated field investigations at stone-walled settlements, 70 miles south of Johannesburg. Describes the architecture, material culture and a three-stage local archaeological sequence. Compares these sites with stone-walled sites in Zimbabwe. Intended to extend the observations published by van Riet Lowe in 1927.

630. Taylor, M. O. V. "Southern Transvaal Stone Walled Sites—a Spatial Consideration." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*, Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 248-51.

Settlement patterns of Sotho speakers. Suggests that spatial layout conforms to the pattern predicted by the Bantu catde culture.

631. van Hoepen, E. C. N. "New Light on the Zimbabwe Ruins: Further Evidence That the Stone Buildings of South Africa Are Bantu Work." *Illustrated London News* 98 (14 March 1936): 468.

Illustrated description of traditional stone buildings in the Lydenburg district, Transvaal.

632. van Riet Lowe, C. "A Preliminary Report on the Stone Huts of Vechtkop." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 57 (1927): 217-33.

Illustrated field investigations in the Orange Free State. Describes a corbelled stone hut, settlement plan, pottery and iron implements. Records 14 sites and posits an 18th-century incursion of the Leghoya, the first Bantu, into the region.

633. Wells, L. H. "A Report on the Stone Structures on the Platberg Near Klerksdorp." *South African Journal of Science* 30 (1933): 582-84.

Field investigations of some rough stone structures in south western Transvaal. Describes hut enclosures and catde enclosures. No plans but site described as a two-mile-long maze of passages and enclosures bound by massive walls of undressed stone.

Orange Free State

634. Daubenton, F. "A Preliminary Report on Stone Structures Near Steynsrust, Orange Free State." *South African Journal of Science* 35 (1938): 364-70.
Illustrated field investigations at three clusters of stone bee-hive huts. Describes details of stone hut architecture, catde enclosures and settlement layout. Illustrates some pottery fragments.

Natal

635. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Iron Age Settlement and Subsistence Patterns in the Tugela River Basin, Natal." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall, et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 194—206.
Illustrated field surveys with catalog of sites by period and type.
636. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Patterns and Perceptions of Stone Built Setdements from the Thukela Valley Late Iron Age." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 29 (1988): 417-32.
Analyses from extensive field investigations, confirming previous findings on the distribution of this type of setdement. Records rock paintings of setdements.
637. Maggs, T. M. O'C, et al. "Spatial Parameters of Late Iron Age Settlements in the Upper Thukela Valley." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 27 (1986): 455-79.
Survey data and settlement pattern analyses of stone-built setdements.
638. Davies, O. "Excavations at the Walled Early Iron-Age Site in Moor Park Near Estcourt, Natal." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 22 (1974): 289-323.
Illustrated field investigations at a walled hilltop site dated to between the 11th and 13th centuries.

Sotho-Tswana Associations

639. Evers, T. M. "Sotho-Tswana and Moloko Settlement Patterns and the Bantu Cattle Pattern." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 {Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10}, 1984. 236-47.

Illustrated field research at ancient settlements and ethnographic observation of modern Sotho-Tswana ones. Defining "moloko" as Iron Age sites believed to have been inhabited by the ancestors of the Sotho-Tswana-speaking peoples, suggests a clear continuity and shared symbolic structure with respect to village layout.

640. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Iron Age Patterns and Sotho History on the Southern Highveld: South Africa." *World Archaeology* 1 (1976): 318-32.

Illustrated summary of large-scale survey of Iron Age settlements in the Orange Free State; integrates these results with reference to Sotho traditional history. Describes two categories of settlement system: one in the east and another in the north west, attributed to a group ancestral to modern Tswana. Suggests that archaeology indicates a longer-standing division between the Tswana and Southern Sotho than previously believed.

641. Mason, R.J. "The First Tswana." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 66-69.

Summary, illustrated with a distribution map, of the archaeological evidence associated with the earliest Tswana related settlements in southern Africa.

642. Mason, R.J. "'Oori' or 'Moloko'? Origins of the Sotho-Tswana on the Evidence of the Iron Age of the Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 79 (1983): 261—64.

Argues that the Iron Age in the Transvaal from the 13th century onwards does not represent the new cultural tradition defined by Evers as "moloko." Argues that the Sotho-Tswana represent the end of a cultural sequence begun with Early Iron Age peoples represented at Broederstroom, An illustrated reply from Evers is attached.

The Agricultural Terraces of Eastern Africa

The third set of stone-built structures in east and south central Africa is a series of agricultural terraces extending from north east Zimbabwe in the south, northwards through Mozambique and Tanzania to Kenya and Uganda. This terracing, arranged for garden plots in hilly regions, is usually integrated into a complex of stone-lined watercourses, storage ponds and stone-founded pit houses.

These stone-built terraces are well known but poorly recorded or studied. With the exception of the research by Sutton, there are few attempts to describe them as a class. Although agricultural terracing is fairly common in eastern Africa and still in use, few descriptions of it within a general cultural context exist. It is apparent from the anecdotal evidence that the structuring and servicing of the water courses occurred within lineage defined boundaries. Therefore, it is apparent, the terraces are suitable candidates, not only for extensive areal survey by archaeologists but for ethnographic study.

Unfortunately, the only one of this array of sites to be investigated is the Inyanga locality in northeast Zimbabwe. Although these abandoned terraces have been known and investigated since the early years of the 20th century, only Summers in the 1960s produced a reliable archaeological report. Otherwise, available sources are quite old and often misguided. For most of the century, the terraces, meant for the cultivation of cereal crops, were described as fortresses, preserving the communities of ancient settlers from depredation by the native populations.

In addition to the following, Schlichter visited Inyanga late in the 19th century and reported on the stone-built structures there to the Royal Geographical Society. Subsequently, Randall-Maclver investigated the Inyanga locality, describing them in his reports of 1905 and 1906. Later, Trevor discussed them in his anecdotal collation of 1930. Jensen, in 1939, saw in them proof of a movement of a highly organized society from east to south east Africa, who founded Zimbabwean culture. In 1959, Whitty

characterized the stonework of Inyanga in his classification of stone structures in Zimbabwe.

643. Sutton, J. E. G. "Irrigation and Soil-Conservation in African Agricultural History with a Reconsideration of the Inyanga Terracing (Zimbabwe) and the Engaruka Irrigation Works (Tanzania)." *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 25—41.

General discussion of irrigation systems in eastern Africa and a specific description of the irrigation systems of Inyanga as the byproduct of an intensive cropping regimen.

644. Sutton, J. E. G. "Irrigation and Terracing in Africa: Intensification, Specialization or Over-specialization." *Prehistoric Intensive Agriculture in the Tropics*. Ed. I. S. Farrington. Oxford: BAR International Series 232, 1985. 737-64.

General discussion of irrigation farming and terracing in Africa with particular reference to the terracing at Inyanga on pp. 749 *et seq.*

[Inyanga](#)

[Field Archaeology and Descriptions](#)

645. Finch, E. M. "Pit People of the Inyanga Downs." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 42 (1949): 38-58.

Illustrated field surveys of an extensive system of stone enclosures, hut foundations, pit dwellings and terraced walling in northeast Zimbabwe. Scaled plans and photographs, draws comparisons with similar constructions reported by R. N. Hall in 1909 and A. Y. Mason in 1933.

646. Fripp, C. H. E., and L. H. Wells. "Excavations in a Pit Circle at Inyanga, Southern Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 35 (1938): 399-406.

Illustrated field investigations at a stone-walled site in north eastern Zimbabwe.

[Inyanga, as Cultivation Terraces](#)

647. Crawford, O. G. S. "Rhodesian Cultivation Terraces." *Antiquity* 24 (1950): 96-98.
Aerial photographs of stone banked terraces at Inyanga in north eastern Zimbabwe.
648. Mason, A. Y. "The Penhalonga Ruins, Southern Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 30 (1933): 559—81.
Illustrated report of field investigations in the Inyanga district. Describes the hill top forts, stone wall terracing, water courses and circular stone-filled pits. Concludes that the terracing was used for agricultural purposes.
649. Summers, R. F. H. "Inyanga: A Preliminary Report." *Antiquity* 26 (1952): 71-75.
Report of the first season of investigations at Inyanga in eastern Zimbabwe. Final report of this research published by Summers in 1958. Describes the Early Iron Age Ziwa ware as well as the Inyanga agricultural terraces as pictured by Crawford in *Antiquity* in 1950.
650. Summers, R. F. H. *Inyanga: Prehistoric Settlements in Southern Rhodesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
Detailed illustrated excavations and survey at Inyanga and related localities in eastern Zimbabwe.

[Inyanga, as an Ancient Fortification](#)

651. Gwatkin, R. D. S. "The Ancient Forts of Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia (Part I)." *Rhodesian Mining Journal* 6 (1932): 513—514.
Illustrated report of field investigations at the site of stone-lined agricultural terraces and stone-walled hut foundations in northeast Zimbabwe. Posits their construction as a military work.
652. Gwatkin, R. D. S. "The Ancient Forts of Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia (Part II)." *Rhodesian Mining Journal* 6 (1932): 553-554.
Illustrated field survey of stone-walled structures in northeastern Zimbabwe.
653. Gwatkin, R. D. S. "The Ancient Forts of Penhalonga, Southern Rhodesia (Part III)." *Rhodesian Mining Journal* 7 (1933): 693—695.
Illustrated field survey of stone-walled structures in northeastern Zimbabwe.

654. Hall, R. N. "Inyanga Fort: A Report of an Examination of These Ruins." *South African Journal of Science* 2 (1904): 519-25.
Illustrated description of stone walling at Inyanga as the remains of an ancient fortress. Contrasts it with the remains of recently constructed stone-founded huts.
655. Hall, R. N. "Stone Fort and Pits on the Inyanga Estate, Rhodesia." *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 35 (1905): 92-102.
Field surveys of the terracing and walling at Inyanga.
656. Norton, E. A. "Inyanga, Southern Rhodesia: Some Remains of Ancient Civilization." *Journal of the African Society* 25 (1926): 237-44.
Illustrated description of stone-walled terracing and structures in north east Zimbabwe.
657. Pope, H. B. "The Ancient Remains of the Makoni District as Related to the Zimbabwe Cult." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 36 (1938): 91-94.
Field surveys of stone-founded localities at Inyanga, in particular, Cornucopia farm. Dart identifies a skull as "non-negroid," suggesting Phoenician and Egyptian contacts beginning around 2000 B.C.
658. Rossiter, E. "Prehistoric Inyanga; Data and Conclusions." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 36 (1938): 95-101.
Field survey and description of stone terracing and pit structures as fortification. Said to be built by ancient bronze workers at a period predating the Indian exploitation of the gold deposits.

East African Agricultural Terracing

659. Fosbrooke, H. A. "Rift Valley Ruins." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 6 (1938): 58-60.
Illustrated field investigations at a stone-terraced site in the vicinity of Engaruka in southern Tanzania.
660. Fosbrooke, H. A. "Recent Iron-Age Inhabitants of Central Tanzania." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrikan Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, Nairobi 1977*. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 344-47.

Illustrated field investigations in central Tanzania. Describes grindstones, pottery and ponds dug to reservoir water associated with recent but not the current inhabitants of the region near Dodoma.

661. Gilman, C. "An Annotated List of Ancient and Modern Indigenous Stone Structures in East Africa." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 17 (1944): 44-55.

Illustrated catalogue and gazetteer from reports, field observations and published sources of stone terracing, enclosures, cairns and hut foundations throughout eastern Africa, from southern Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania and northern Mozambique. Supplemented by Gilman later in 1944.

662. Gilman, C. "Supplementary Note on Stone Structures." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 18 (1944): 64-66.

Supplement to Gilman above. Includes additional material and further description of stone structures in Uganda.

663. Leakey, L. S. B. "Preliminary Report of Examination of the Engaruka Ruins." *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 2 (1936): 57-60.

Field investigations at a series of localities containing stone walls and terracing. Describes excavations and other investigations at two burial cairns and two stone-built structures in the region. Concludes that they are between 150 to 300 years old, and the product of ancestors of the Mbulu.

664. Sutton, J. E. G. "Sonjo and Engaruka: Further Signs of Continuity." *Azania* 25 (1990): 91—93.

Compares two sets of rock built terracing and the associated occupation sites, separated by 100 km in southern Tanzania, and posits cultural and temporal continuities between them. Describes previous survey of the Sonjo region.

665. Wilson, G. E. H. "The Ancient Civilization of the Rift Valley." *Man* 32 (1932): article 298.

Illustrated discussion of the distribution of stone-walled terracing in eastern Africa as the product of an ancient group from the north rather than current inhabitants, who have no idea of the origins of the terracing.

Archaeological Observation of Funerary Practice

Given the cultural importance assigned to the ancestors and funeral ritual, it is not surprising that archaeologists observe some measure of ritual attending internments. The graves from the later Iron Age of Zaire are well supplied with grave goods, but even those from the Early Iron Age in southern Zambia have attendant grave goods. The number of grave sites explored in southern Africa is limited but interesting nonetheless.

Zaire

666. de Maret, P. "Sanga: New Excavations, More Data and Some Related Problems." *Journal of African History* 18 (1977): 321-37.

Summary of current fieldwork at the type site of the Kisalian culture. A more comprehensive report appears in de Maret (1978) following.

667. de Maret, P. *Chronologie de L'age Du Fer dans la Depression de L'Upemba en Republique Du Zaire*. Brussels: Universite Libre du Bruxelles, 1978.

Illustrated comprehensive field investigations of the elaborated graves associated with the Kisalian culture, as characterized by Nenquin in 1973.

668. Hiernaux, J. "Le Cimetiere Protohistorique de Katoto: Vallee Du Lualaba. Province Du Shaba, Zaire." *Africa Tervuren* 18 (1972): 116-17.

Illustrated note describing the pre-12th century cemetery at Katoto.

669. Nenquin, J. A. E, "A New Rich and Enigmatic Culture Discovered in Belgian Congo: Uncovering a Protohistoric Necropolis in Katanga." *The Illustrated London News* 223 (1958): 516-18.

Illustrated first report of the Sanga cemetery. Depicts copper objects, pottery and graves. To draw comparisons with the Zimbabwean culture, includes a collection of cruciform copper ingots from Zimbabwe. See

Nenquin (1963), following, for a complete account of the field investigations.

670. Nenquin, J. A. E. *Excavations at Sanga, 1957: The Prehistoric Necropolis*. Tervuren: Musee Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1963. Illustrated field investigations at a cemetery of the type site of the Kisalian culture.
671. Nenquin, J. A. E. "Sanga." *Inventaria Archaeologica Africana* CL 1-11 (1964): 1-11. Illustrated finds from the Sanga burials.

Malawi

672. Inskeep, R. R. "Recent Developments in Iron Age Studies in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland." *Actes Du IVe Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire et de L'etude Du Quaternaire: Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Ed. G. Mortelmans and Nenquin J. Tervuren: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden Afrika, 1962. 351-56. Preliminary statement of on-going research in southern Zambia and at the Nkudzi cemetery in Malawi.
673. Inskeep, R. R. *Preliminary Investigation of a Proto-historic Cemetery at Nkudzi Bay, Malawi*. Livingstone: The National Museums of Zambia, 1965. Illustrated field investigations at a series of richly appointed graves in southern Malawi. Describes the graves, their contents and their historical context. Results replicated at the nearby site of Mtemankhookwe I as reported by Juwayeyi in 1991, following.
674. Juwayeyi, Y. M. "Late Iron Age Burial Practices in the Southern Lake Malawi Area." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 46 (1991): 25-33. Illustrated field investigations at the 19th-century cemetery, Mtemankhokwe I, in the near vicinity of the Nkudzi cemetery, reported by Inskeep in 1965. Confirms the traditional practice of lavish grave furnishing. Integrates historic and ethnographic reports to place these in a cogent setting.

Zambia

Central Zambia, Mass Burials

675. Anderson, F. V. "The Shimbala Mass Burial". *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 16 (1961): 144—47.
Salvage excavation of a later Iron Age burial site near Lusaka.
676. Fagan, B. M. "Monk's Kop and Shimbala." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 23 (1968): 114.
Later Iron Age mass burials from Lusaka area. Shimbala originally reported by Anderson in 1961.

The Graves of Some Soli Chiefs

677. Fagan, B. M. "A Collection of 19th Century Soli Ironwork from the Lusaka Area, Northern Rhodesia." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 62 (1961): 253—62.
Illustrated description of elaborate ironwork found with the graves of two 19th-century Soli chiefs. Offers an excellent bibliography of elite associated iron implements in northern Zambia and Zaire.

Victoria Falls Region Early Iron Age

678. Vogel, J. O. "Early Iron Age Tools from Chundu Farm, Zambia." *Azania* 5 (1970): 173-78.
Description of caches of iron tools found at Early Iron Age settlement in southern Zambia.
679. Vogel, J. O. "On Early Iron Age Funerary Practice in Southern Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 13 (1972): 583—86.
Illustrated field investigations and description of an Early Iron Age cemetery.
680. Vogel, J. O. "An Early Iron Age Burial from Chundu Farm, Zambia." *Zambia Museums Journal* 6 (1982): 118-25.

Description of the excavation of an Early Iron Age burial.

[Victoria Falls Region, the Later Iron Age](#)

681. Sampson, C. G. Notes on an Ancestral Leya Burial, Victoria Falls." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 19 (1964): 67—69.

Description of a 19th-century burial with pottery and beads found eroded out of the banks of the Zambezi.

682. Vogel, J. O. "Later Iron Age Hoe Blades from Simango, Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 15 (1974): 198-99.

Illustrated description of a set of iron hoe blades found in a grave in southern Zambia. Suggests that these blades represent a type made by local smiths and used throughout the later Iron Age there.

Archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence is cited.

[Zimbabwe](#)

683. Garlake, P. S. "Iron Age Burials at Mount Hampden, Near Salisbury, Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 3.10 (1967): 1—8.

Illustrated field investigations at a late cemetery.

684. Goodall, E. "Report on an Ancient Burial Ground, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia." *Actes Du IVe Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire et de L'etude Du Quaternaire: Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Ed. G. Mortelmans and Nenquin J. Tervuren: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden Afrika, 1962.315—22.

Illustrated continuing field investigations at a later Iron Age cemetery.

Pit graves well stocked with pottery grave offerings, pictured in the accompanying photographs. A parallel discussion of the skeletal remains from this and some other burial sites in its vicinity was reported by R. T. Jones on pp. 365—373 in the second section of this Congress.

685. Whitty, A. "The Salisbury Burials and Their Place in the Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia." *Proceedings of the first Federal Science Conference* 1 (1960): 461-67.

Field investigations at later Iron Age graves.

South Africa

686. Rightmire, G. P., and N. J. van der Merwe, "Two Burials from Phalabowra and the Association of Race and Culture in the Iron Age of Southern Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 31 (1976): 147-52.

Illustrated description of Kgopolwe burial, from the northern Transvaal, suggesting that Early Iron Age populations in southern Africa were negroid.

Traditional Crafts and Technologies

687. Reynolds, B. G. R. *The Material Culture of the People of the Gwembe Valley*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968.

Excellent and thorough survey from field observation of traditional production, technology, technical processes and material products in a rural African setting among the Tonga-speaking peoples of the Zambezi valley.

Pottery

Finds of pottery at Iron Age sites are inventoried as part of site reports. This list records attempts to describe traditional methods of ceramic technology as in Lawton, Schofield and Krause or methodologies for segregating analytic classes of pottery as in Daniels and Schofield or in better comprehending the means by which archaeology evaluates such classes as in Krause and Huffman.

688. Daniels, S. G. H. "The Statistical Determination of Pottery Types from the Recently Excavated Site at Dambwa Near Livingstone." *Science and Medicine in Central Africa*. Ed. C. J. Snowball. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1965. 591-610.

Illustrated statistically-based modal analysis of an important collection of Early Iron pottery from the Victoria Falls Region.

689. Huffman, T. N. "Shona Pottery from Pumula Township, Bulawayo, Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 27 (1972): 66-81.

Illustrated ethno-archaeological investigation of modern potters and pottery on sale at a township market. Argues that the maker's perception of function produces a different classification of the ceramics than does an archaeologist's reliance on shape or decorative type.

690. Huffman, T. N. "Ceramics, Classification and Iron Age Entities." *African Studies* 39 (1980): 123-74.

Illustrated proposal of a standardized statistical mechanism of ceramic

analysis that intends to measure group identity through the style of the associated pottery.

691. Krause, R. A. "Toward a Formal Account of Bantu Ceramic Manufacture." *Archaeological Essays in Honor of Irving B. Rouse*. Ed. R. C. Dunnell and E. S. Hall. The Hague: Mouton, 1978. 87-120.
Illustrated statement of the research regime preceding the field investigations reported by Krause in 1985 below.
692. Krause, R. A. "Modelling the Making of Pots: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach." *The Many Dimensions of Pottery: Ceramics in Archaeology and Anthropology*. Ed. S. E. van der Leeuw and A.C. Pritchard. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, Albert Egges Institut voor Prae-en-Protohistorie, 1984. 617-706.
Illustrated summary of argument and methodologies set out in Krause 1985 below.
693. Krause, R. A. *The Clay Sleeps: An Ethnoarchaeological Study of Three African Potters*. University (AL): The University of Alabama Press, 1985.
Illustrated statement of methodology underlying the development of a formal account of potting processes and a summary of field observations of three African potters in the Transvaal. Detailed description of the potting process. Suggests the usefulness of bringing testable ethnographical knowledge to archaeological work and systematically developed archaeological perspectives to ethnographic inquiries.
694. Krause, R. A. "Ceramic Practice and Semantic Space: An Ethnoarchaeological Inquiry Into the Logic of Bantu Potting." *Antiquity* 64 (1990): 711—26.
Illustrated statement of arguments presented by Krause in 1985 above. Suggests that the sorting model used by different potters differs from potter to potter and that these differ from those proposed by an archaeologist.
695. Laidler, P. W. "South African Native Ceramics: Their Characteristics and Classification." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 26 (1938): 93-172.
Comprehensive survey of traditional pottery-making technologies, explored from ethnographic observation and archaeological remains. Includes a broad survey of archaeological ceramics segregated by

geographical provenience and prefaced by relevant literature. A necessary introduction to African potting technologies of southern Africa.

696. Lawton, A. C. "Bantu Pottery of South Africa." *Annals of the South Africa Museum* 49 (1967): 1-440.

Illustrated monograph-length survey of traditional ceramic manufacture in southern Africa from field observations and published ethnographic accounts. Constitutes a basic source of information on the ethnic variety of ceramic practise throughout the subcontinent.

697. Schofield, J. F. *Primitive Pottery: An Introduction to South African Ceramics, Prehistoric and Proto Historic. Handbook Series No. 3.* Capetown: South African Archaeological Society, 1948.

Illustrated classified descriptive catalog of the traditional and prehistoric ceramic technologies of southern Africa. Updates the presentation of early ceramics and culture history in the subcontinent since the compilation of Laidler in 1938.

Mining and Metallurgy

698. Cline, W. *Mining and Metallurgy in Negro Africa.* Menasha, Wisc.: George Banta, 1937.

A standard reference work collating a broad range of ethnographic observations into a general survey of the traditional technologies of African smiths.

699. Küsel, U. S. "Extractive Metallurgy in Iron Age South Africa." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 246-49.

Survey of traditional metal extraction, describing furnaces and technologies practiced. Discusses the production of bronze and brass as well as iron and copper smelting.

An Early Traveller's Observations

700. MacKenzie, J. *Ten Years North of the Orange River*. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1871.
Memoirs of life and travel in southern Africa. Describes locating evidence of ancient mines and mining on the banks of Tati river.

Ethnographic Observations

Gold Extraction

It was commonly held that the Africans were not interested in the mining and extraction of gold. As result many of the early accounts neglect observation of traditional mining or attribute evidence of it to ancient miners. Typical of this approach is Wilkinson, W. F. "On Goldmining in Rhodesia." *Journal of the Society of Arts* 44 (July 1896): 687-693. It has a good map of the gold fields and mention of the frequency of "ancient works," deriving the archaeological history from Bent.

701. Mann, R. J., editor. "Mr. Thomas Baines's Explorations of the Gold Region Between the Limpopo and the Zambezi Rivers: Compiled from His Journals." *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 15 (1871): 147-58.

Contemporary account of the Baines expedition to Mashonaland and the search for gold fields. Detailed descriptions of travel in south central Africa and contacts with the local people though ethnographic detail is scant. Extended description of Shona techniques for extracting gold from quartz. This evidence in contrast to commonly expressed opinion of the time that Africans showed little interest in the mining and extraction of gold outside of contact with Arabs or Europeans. In commentary, following this paper John Swinburne presents observations on Shona iron smelting and iron working.

702. Mann, R. J., editor. "Account of Mr. Baines's Exploration of the Gold-bearing Region between the Limpopo and Zambesi Rivers." *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 41 (1871): 100-31.
Another account drawn from Baines's journals reporting on the Royal Geographical Society-sponsored expedition seeking gold-bearing deposits in regions between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers. This

search in response to Mauch's recent travels north of the Limpopo. A clear narrative of the goals and events of this trip with an account of old workings and a description of Shona methods of gold extraction.

Iron Extraction

703. Brelsford, W. V. "Rituals and Medicines of Chisinga Ironworkers." *Man* 49 (1949): article 27.

Ethnographic account of traditional ironworking.

704. Chaplin, J. H. "Notes on Traditional Smelting in Northern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 16 (1961): 1-10.

Field observations of traditional iron smiths and smelting practices in eastern Zambia.

705. Childs, S. T. "Style, Technology and Iron Smelting Furnaces in Bantu-speaking Africa." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 10 (1991): 332-59.

Illustrated study of kinds of iron smelters in sub-Saharan Africa from ethnographic accounts and a detailed case study of the Shona practice. Describes iron smelting among Bantu-speaking people in the subcontinent and differences in technology, choice of technical options and styling of smelting furnaces. Discussion of the technical and ritual effect of ethnic practices.

706. Doke, C. M. *The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia*, London: Harrap, 1931.

Field observations of traditional technology and material culture.

707. Feely, J. M. "Smelting in the Iron Age of Transkei," *South African Journal of Science* 81 (1985): 10-11.

Illustrated archaeological and ecological survey. Inventories evidence of smelting activity. Suggests there was no previous historical or other accounts of traditional iron working for the Transkei.

708. Friede, H. M. "Socio-economic Aspects of Metal Production in the Western Transvaal (South Africa)." *Nyame Akuma* 21 (1982): 41.

Brief review of ethnographic characterizations of traditional African iron smiths and iron working.

709. Herbert, E. W., and K. Misago. "Preliminary Report on Research into Traditional Iron Working at Lopanzo, Equateur Province, Zaire." *Nyame*

Akuma 33 (1990): 28-29.

Brief report describing field investigations into traditional methods of smelting and iron working. Describes field interviews with individuals who practiced the traditional technology in the past.

710. Maluma, E. "Chongwe and Kanakantpa Iron Smelting Furnaces." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 7-13. Illustrated ethno-archaeological field surveys and archaeological excavations at late Iron Age smelting sites in the Lusaka area of central Zambia. Eighty-one sites recorded in the survey and four excavated. An oral record reports on the traditional practices.
711. Schmidt, P. "Steel Production in Prehistoric Africa: Insights from Ethnoarchaeology in West Lake, Tanzania." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies Nairobi 1977*. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 335-40. Illustrated field investigations of traditional ironworking technologies in east Africa.
712. Schmidt, P., and D. H. Avery. "Complex Iron Smelting and Prehistoric Culture in Tanzania." *Science* 201 (1978): 1085-89. Ethnographic observations of traditional iron smelting in Tanzania. Argues that traditional smiths practiced an advanced technology, producing a carbon steel, and conjectures that a sophisticated fuel-conserving technique was necessary to compensate for an otherwise depleting fuel base.
713. Stannus, H. S. "Nyasaland: Angoni Smelting Furnace," *Man* 14 (1914): article 65. Illustrated description of a traditional Ngoni smelter.
714. van der Merwe, N. J., and D. H. Avery. "Science and Magic in African Technology: Traditional Iron Smelting in Malawi." *Africa* 57.2 (1987): 143-72. Traditional iron-smelting procedures and the rituals attending them, and the role of ritual in the process. Reprinted in *The Beginning of the Use of Metals and Alloys*. Ed. R. Maddin. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1988: pp. 245-260.
715. Wenner, D. B., and N. J. van der Merwe. "Mining for the Lowest Grade Ores: Traditional Iron Production in Northern Malawi." *Geoarchaeology* 2 (1987): 199—216.

Investigations at two traditional iron mines and an account of African smelting technologies. Suggests that African iron workers preferred low grade ores, using a two-stage smelting technology to compensate for an inability to generate high temperatures in a traditional natural draft furnace unable to process higher grade materials.

Copper Extraction

716. Clark, J. D. "Pre-European Copper Workings in South-central Africa." *Roan Antelope* 6 (1957): 12-16.
Archaeological, ethnographic and historical survey of traditional copper production in northern Zambia.
717. Hanisch, E. O. M. "Copper Working in the Messina District." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 250-53.
Reconstruction of traditional copper-working practices from available literature.
718. van Warmelo, N. J., editor. *The Copper Miners of Musina, and the Early History of the Zoutpansberg*. Pretoria: Government Printers, Ethnological Publication no. 8, 1940.
Illustrated compilation of ethnographic and field accounts of traditional mining and smelting in the Transvaal.

Metallurgy Comes to South East Africa

719. Alexander, J. "The Spread and Development of Iron-using in Europe and Africa." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies Nairobi, 1977*. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 327-30.
Summary, from published sources, comparing historical processes, by which iron use first came to Africa and Europe, and the development and spread of iron working technologies on each continent.
720. de Maret, P., and F. Nsuka. "History of Bantu Metallurgy: Some Linguistic Aspects." *History in Africa* 4 (1977): 43-65.

Challenges the assertion that the diffusion of Bantu languages is linked with the spread of ironworking. Argues from linguistic reconstruction that there is scant proof that metallurgy was a significant factor in traditional Bantu societies prior to their spread into the subcontinent.

721. Fagan, B. M. "Pre-European Ironworking in Central Africa with Special Reference to Northern Rhodesia." *Journal of African History* 2 (1961): 199-210.

Summary of current ideas about the history of the Iron Age in south central Africa with reference to the finds of iron artifacts.

722. Inskeep, R. R. "The March of Iron Across a Continent." *UNESCO. Courier* 12.10 (1959): 20-21; 23.

Illustrated introduction to the origins and spread of iron-working technology in Africa.

723. van der Merwe, N. J. "The Advent of Iron in Africa." *The Coming of the Age of Iron*. Ed. T. A. Wertheim and J. D. Muhly. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980. 463-506.

Historical survey from archaeological and historical sources of the metallurgical history of Africa during the Iron Age. Discusses traditional metallurgical knowledge and processes in Africa. Asserts a critical significance to the development of social processes in southern Africa as a result of the introduction of iron working.

724. Vercoutter, J. "Discovery and Diffusion of Metals and Development of Social Systems up to the Fifth Century of Our Era." *Methodology and African Prehistory*. Ed. J. Ki-Zerbo. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 706-29.

Illustrated discussion of the diffusion of metals and metal-working technologies into sub-Saharan Africa.

[Archaeological Observations](#)

[Mines and Mining](#)

725. Clark, J. D. "Pre-European Copper Workings in South-central Africa." *Roan Antelope* 6 (1957): 12-16.

Archaeological, ethnographic and historical survey of traditional copper production in northern Zambia.

726. Mason, R. J. "Prehistoric Mining in South Africa, and Iron Age Copper Mines in the Dwarsberg, South Africa." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 82 (1982): 134-44.

Illustrated chronology of traditional mining in Southern Africa, suggesting an Early Iron Age origin for the practice. A note by Partridge describes Iron Age copper workings in the area.

727. Mennell, F. P., and R. Summers. "The Ancient Workings of Southern Rhodesia." *Occasional Papers of the National Museums of Southern Rhodesia* 20 (1955): 765—77.

Excellent illustrated account of traditional mines and mining.

728. More, C. E. "Some Observations on "Ancient" Mining at Phaiabowra." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 227-32.

Illustrated account of historical references to traditional mining at Phaiabowra and description of the archaeology of traditional metal working.

729. Oxley Oxland, G. St. J., and H. White. "Ancient Mining Practices in the Rooiberg Area." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 245.

Relocates ancient mining operations and reconstructs traditional mining practices.

730. Partridge, T. C. "Addendum: Iron Age Copper Workings in the Dwarsberg." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 82 (1982): 143-44.

Discussion of traditional copper workings in a portion of the Transvaal illustrated with an aerial photograph locating ancient workings.

731. Schofield, J. F. "The Ancient Workings of South-east Africa." *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)* 3 (1925): 5-12.

Illustrated inventory and distribution of pre-colonial mining operations.

732. Steel, R. H. "Iron Age Mining and Metallurgy in South Africa." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 94-97.

Summary discussion with a distributional map of archaeological sites of

the distribution of traditional smelting sites associated with iron, copper and tin.

Iron

733. Davison, S., and P. N. Mosley. "Iron Smelting in the Upper North Rukuru Basin of Northern Malawi." *Azania* 23 (1988): 57-99.
Illustrated wide-ranging field survey in northern Malawi, describing some 30 sites associated with iron production activity. Illustrates hoes from the Early Iron Age to the present. Comments on the apparent lack of ritual isolation of smelting in Early Iron Age villages and speculates on older smelting procedures while describing ethnographically observed processes. Classifies furnace types.
734. Friede, H. M., and R. H. Steel. "Notes on an Iron Smelting Pit Furnace Found at Bukfontein Iron Age Site 41/85 (Central Transvaal) and on General Features of Pit Furnaces." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 43 (1988): 30-42.
An excellent description from field survey and experimental studies of the technological features of traditional pit furnace smelters. Describes the operation of a reconstructed pit furnace.
735. Klapwijk, M. "A Late Iron Age Furnace Excavation on the Farm Longridge, Agatha, North-eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 41 (1986): 22-26.
Illustrated field investigations. Detailed description of the structure of a later Iron Age smelter from an area with a long connection to traditional iron production.
736. Phillipson, D. W. "Excavation of an Iron-smelting Furnace in the Livingstone District of Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 64 (1964): article 216.
Excavation of a large iron smelter found on Strydom's Farm, near Livingstone in southern Zambia. It was later dated to the 17th century.
737. Prendergast, M. D. "Research Into the Ferrous Metallurgy of Rhodesian Iron Age Societies ." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 254-64.
Posits that history and technology of traditional iron metallurgy in Zimbabwe is poorly represented in research. Reviews the available literature and suggests future research.

738. Prendergast, M. D. "A New Furnace Type from the Darwendale Dam Basin." *Rhodesian Prehistory* 7.14 (1975).
Illustrated field investigations at the Tarnagulla and Gwebi Junction sites. Describes a kind of induced-draught furnace otherwise not known south of the Zambezi.
739. Prendergast, M. D. "Chisvingo Hill Furnace Site, Northern Mashonaland." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 47-61.
Illustrated field investigations at a small Zimbabwe phase enclosure in Zimbabwe. Describes three small later Iron Age furnaces and presents them as a novel class of smelter with shallow charcoal basins and two slot-like tuyère holes, which postdate the building.
740. Prendergast, M. D. "Early Iron Age Furnaces at Surtic Farm, Near Mazoe, Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 31-32.
Illustrated field investigations at a series of iron smelters dated to about the 10th century.
741. van der Merwe, N. J. "Field Methodology and Iron Age Metallurgy at Buhwa, Rhodesia." *Occasional papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia* 4.3 (1978): 101-105.
Illustrated report of excavations of traditional iron smelters.
742. van der Merwe, N. J., and D. J. Killick. "Square: An Iron Smelting Site Near Phalaborwa." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 86-93.
Illustrated description of field and laboratory investigations associated with an iron smelting site in the northern Transvaal. Site characterized by a large number of furnaces and periodic use over a long time.
Illustrates a number of furnaces as well as the comparative analyses of slag from a series of sites.
743. van Schalkwyk, J. A. "A Late Iron Age Smelting Furnace Southeast of Pietersburg in the Transvaal, Republic of South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 131-35.
Illustrated account of the traditional smelters uncovered during field investigations. Describes different furnaces excavated and classifies them according to criteria set forth in Friede and Steel 1985.

[Traditional Iron Production: A Discussion](#)

744. Phillipson, D. W. "Cewa, Leya and Lala Iron Smelting Furnaces." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 23 (1968): 102-13.
Reports of excavations of iron smelters at Natebe, Ncingalieya and Kayali in southern and eastern Zambia.
745. van der Merwe, N. J., "Iron Smelting." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1970): 46.
Note correcting the discussion of iron smelting in Phillipson's description of traditional iron production in southern and eastern Zambia.

[Some Early Iron Age Tools](#)

746. Robinson, K. R. "An Iron Adze from the Lukwe River 20 km North of Bulawayo." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 40 (1985): 112-13.
Illustrated description of an Early Iron Age iron implement dated to about the 9th century and found associated with Zhiso pottery. Comparisons are made to contemporary tools found in southern Zambia.
747. Vogel, J. O. "Early Iron Age Hoe Blades from Southern Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 14 (1973): 529-32.
Detailed illustrated discussion of the typology of early hoe blades from the Victoria Falls region.

[Copper](#)

748. Evers, T. M., and R. P. van den Berg. "Ancient Mining in Southern Africa, with Reference to a Copper Mine in the Harmony Block, North-eastern Transvaal." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 217-26.
Illustrated investigation of mine, associated iron working locus, and sequence of site use.

749. Steel, R. H. "Iron Age Copper Mine 47/73." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974). 244-245.
Field survey and small-scale excavation locating evidence of prehistoric mining in the tailings of a copper working on the Olifantspoort Farm in the Transvaal.
750. Steel, R. H. "Ifafi 25/85C West: An Iron Age Copper Smelting Site East of Hartbeespoort Dam, Central Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 136-39.
Illustrated field investigations at a 16th-century copper working site. Describes in detail the furnace. Excellent survey of traditional copper production in the region, previous research and a bibliography.
751. Wagner, P. A., and H. S. Gordon. "Further Notes on Ancient Bronze Smelters in the Waterberg District, Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 26 (1929): 563-74.
Illustrated report field investigations at Bleauwbank farm Describes two kinds of furnace: hearth furnaces and crucible ones. Analyses alloyed metal found and posits a relationship between this site and Great Zimbabwe. Posits that bronze at Great Zimbabwe may have originated in the northern Transvaal. See Wagner's report of 1926 for further analyses of the product of this area.

Tin

752. Grant, M. R. "A Radiocarbon Date on a Tin Artifact from Rooiberg." *South African Journal of Science* 86 (1990): 63.
Fifteenth-century date from a later Iron Age tin smelting site in the northern Transvaal. Adds to information first reported by Friede and Steel in 1976; see following.
753. Friede, H. M. and R. H. Steel. "Tin Mining and Smelting in the Transvaal During the Iron Age." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 76 (1976): 461-70.
Illustrated review of historical, archaeological and metallurgical evidence of Iron Age tin mining and smelting in South Africa, field investigations and laboratory analyses of ore, slag and tin samples. Results of firing in experimental traditional tin smelting furnace.

Experimental Observations

Iron

754. Dingle, M. E., J. Stanko, and D. D. Howat. "An Attempt to Smelt Iron in a Buispoort Type of Furnace." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 268-69.

Experimental smelting of iron ore in a traditional African smelter.

Describes the result of sixteen smelts utilizing different charges and different rates of air flow, size and type of charcoal and ore type.

Concludes that process is more complex than first thought and that more research necessary.

755. Friede, H. M., and R. Steel. "Iron Age Iron Smelting Furnaces of the Western/Central Transvaal—Their Structure, Typology and Affinities." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 40 (1985): 45-49.

Illustrated description of low-shaft, forced draught, non-slag tapping, two-tuyere inlets furnaces used by traditional smiths in the western/central Transvaal. A distribution of this type of furnace into Zimbabwe, Zambia and Angola is discussed as well as modern and archaeological specimens.

756. Klapwijk, M. "An Analysis of Bantu-made Iron Implements from the Letaba District." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 265-68.

Report of metallurgical analyses made on 585 iron implements and weapons. Attempts to devise a means of distinguishing iron tools made in different places and transmitted through trade. Distinguishes Letaba-made hoes from those made elsewhere.

Copper

757. Friede, H. M. "Notes on the Composition of Pre-European Copper and Copper-alloy Artefacts from the Transvaal." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 75 (1975): 185-91.

Analyses of copper artifacts find them to have a high copper content.

Aspects of pre-European bronze manufacture and the early trade in metal objects is touched upon.

758. Friede, H. M., and R. H. Steel. "Notes on Iron Age Copper Smelting Technology in the Transvaal." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 76 (1975): 221-31.

Results of the construction and use of traditional pattern copper smelters, includes Kaonde/Venda furnace, a Rooiberg crucible and a Uitkomst furnace.

759. Steel, R. H. "Ingot Casting and Wire Drawing in Iron Age Southern Africa." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 75 (1975): 232-37.

Report of experiments conducted to reproduce two aspects of Iron Age copper technology: casting and wire drawing. Concludes that accounts of pre-European metal working are generally accurate.

760. Wagner, P. A. "Bronze from an Ancient Smelter in the Waterberg District, Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 23 (1926): 899-900.

Presents the chemical analysis of a lump of alloyed copper found near a furnace at Bleauwbank farm. See Wagner and Gordon's 1929 description of the smelters at this locality.

[Metalworking, Generally](#)

761. Friede, H. M., and R. H. Steel. "Traditional Wooden Dram Bellows of South-western Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 41 (1986): 12-16.

Illustrated discussion of the distribution of wooden bellows. Discusses the technological advantages and disadvantages of skin bag and wooden drum bellows and presents some experimental results of the use of different kinds of bellows.

762. Klapwijk, M. "Some Notes on the Tuyeres from Smelting Sites in the North-Eastern Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 41 (1986): 17-21.

Illustrated catalog of archaeological finds of smelting debris, smelter remains and a discussion of variation in the manufacture of blow pipes.

Suggests that analysis of this variation could produce a useful comparative means of dating them.

Salt

Salt is important to nutrition, and sources of it are regionally limited. It was particularly important in tropical Africa. As a result the means of producing it from brackish water and vegetation was an important domestic craft, and the salt trade an important impetus to traditional trading networks generally.

A brief account of traditional salt extraction from a letter of Kirk's is included in Burton's *The Nile Basin*, London: Tinsley Brothers, 1864. The following books are two excellent commentaries on salt, and its history generally.

763. Denton, D. *The Hunger of Salt*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1982.

Comprehensive survey of the nutritional properties of salt, methods of its procurement or extraction, and a history of its trade.

764. Multhauf, R. P. *Neptune's Gift*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1978.

An exhaustive study of the history of salt, whether as potassium or sodium, in terms, of its nutritional value, methods of its procurement and its importance as a commodity in trade.

Salt Production

765. Aldridge, S. "The Salt-making Industry at Chibwa Marsh, Zambia." *Zambia Museums Journal* 7 (1989): 161-74.

Illustrated account of traditional salt production from the distillation of brackish water in northern Zambia from historical and district records as well as personal observation.

766. Connah, G., E. Kamuhangire and A. Piper. "Salt-production at Kibiro." *Azania* 25 (1990): 27-39.

Illustrated historical and ethnographic survey of salt production on Lake Albert in Kenya. Stresses the long history of traditional salt production here and its role in the creation of the Bunyoro kingdom.

767. Evers, T. M. "Salt and Soapstone Bowl Factories at Harmony, Letaba District, Northeast Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Society Goodimn Series* 3 (1979): 94-107.

The Harmony site was first reported by Evers in 1973, and an ironworking facility located there was reported by Evers and van der Berg in 1974. Illustrated field investigations at two more locations: an Early Iron Age salt making factory and a later one manufacturing soapstone bowls.

768. Fagan, B. M., and J. E. Yellen. "Ivuna: Ancient Salt-working in Southern Tanzania." *Azania* 3 (1969): 1-43.

Illustrated archaeological and historical study of traditional salt-making at the Ivuna salt flats.

769. Sutton, J. E. G., and A. D. Roberts. "Uvinza and Its Salt Industry." *Azania* 3 (1968): 45-86.

Archaeological and historical investigations into traditional salt making at the Uvinza salt marshes in Tanzania. Suggests that the earliest exploitation was in the Early Iron Age.

[The Salt Trade](#)

770. Kenny, M. G. "Salt Trading in Eastern Lake Victoria." *Azania* 9 (1974): 225-28.

Description of the current practice of traditional salt extraction and its role in intraregional trade.

[Architecture and Settlements](#)

The arrangements, and architecture of specific settlements are discussed in many of the site reports and summaries listed elsewhere. The architecture of Great Zimbabwe and African towns were dealt with above.

[Ethnographic Observations](#)

771. Beach, D. N. "Shona Settlement around the Buhwa Range." *Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia* 4.3 (1978): 106-11.
Examination of traditional sources of history of the Buhwa district of Zimbabwe.
772. Beaumont, P. B. "Dithakong." *South African Archaeological Society Bulletin* 6.2 (1983).
Illustrated description of a small stone-walled site in Bophutatswana.
773. Denyer, S. *African Traditional Architecture: An Historical and Geographical Perspective*. New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1978.
Illustrated examination of traditional architecture throughout the continent. Illustration section 2 depicts a variety of elaborate houses and monumental construction, including the Inyanga terraces, Great Zimbabwe, and corbelled stone structures in South Africa. Excellent as a primer on traditional African construction methods, house types and settlement patterns.
774. Hull, R. W. *African Cities and Towns Before the European Conquest*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1969.
Excellent illustrated survey from published accounts of the layout and environment of the traditional African urban landscape.
775. Kuper, A. "Symbolic Dimensions of the Southern Bantu Homestead." *Africa* 50 (1980): 8-23.
Ethnographic study of the spatial organization of southern Bantu settlements, which helped form the basis of the spatial model used by Huflman and others.
776. Siegfried, W. R., and J. H. Hough. "Adaptive Significance of Indigenous Hut Architecture in Transkei." *South African Journal of Science* 82 (1986): 295-98.
Illustrated discussion of hut types, wall decoration and structure orientation in terms of energy-saving potential. Suggests that differential effect of these parameters influence the decisions of hut builders.
777. Walton, J. "South African Peasant Architecture: Southern Sotho Folk Architecture." *African Studies* 7 (1948): 139-45.
Illustrated description of traditional architecture and building methods.

778. Walton, J. "South African Peasant Architecture: Nguni Folk Building." *African Studies* 8 (1949): 70-79.
Illustrated description of traditional architecture and building methods. Posits a classification and distribution of bee-hive shaped huts in southern Africa.
779. Walton, J. *African Village*. Pretoria: J. L. van Schaik Ltd., 1956.
Excellent illustrated introduction to traditional architecture and settlement patterns in southern Africa. Arranged in geographical and chronological order as a descriptive record of traditional house styles and material culture and an overview of the archaeological sequence.
780. Walton, J. "Patterned Walling in African Folk Building." *Journal of African History* 1 (1960): 19-30.
Illustrated discussion of modern patterned-walling on traditional architecture. Compares to patterned walling at the central African zimbabwes. Suggests the spread of such walling from northwest Africa.

[Archaeological Observations](#)

781. Clark, J. D. "Mobility and Settlement Patterns in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparison of Late Prehistoric Hunter-gatherers and Early Agricultural Occupational Units." *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism*. Ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1972. 127-48.
Pp. 140-144 summarize data on early settlements in southern Africa with particular regard for the camps of latest hunter-gatherers and settlement patterns of early agriculturalists.
782. Huffman, T. N. "Archaeological Evidence and Conventional Explanations of Southern Bantu Settlement Patterns." *Africa* 56 (1986): 280-98.
Suggests that conventional explanations attribute differences in settlement pattern between Nguni and Tswana communities to differences in social status, cultural preference or environmental conditions. Suggests a defense hypothesis as an alternative.
783. Mason, R. J. "Locational Models of Transvaal Iron Age Settlements." *Models in Archaeology*. Ed. D. L. Clarke. London: Methuen, 1972. 871-85.

Illustrated summary of settlement types discovered in the Transvaal and an ecological model explaining settlement location.

Settlement Patterns in Zululand

784. Hall, M. L. *Settlement Patterns in the Iron Age of Zululand*. Oxford: BAR. International series 119 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 5), 1981.

Illustrated field observations. Examines settlement behavior in Zululand, Natal, South Africa and factors influencing the development of the Zulu state.

785. Hall, M. L. "The Myth of the Zulu Homestead: Archaeology and Ethnography." *Africa* 54 (1984): 65-79.

Develops a model of traditional Zulu homesteads from ethnographic sources, testing it against data derived from archaeology. Concludes that the persistence of the architectural form of a traditional Zulu homestead through time over an ill-defined area is a myth and that the idea of an "ethnographic present" is misleading.

786. Parkington, J., and M. Cronin. "The Size and Layout of Mgungundlovu 1829-1838." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 133-49.

Excellent illustrated reconstruction, from historical and archaeological sources of a 19th-century Zulu town associated with Dingane. Layout of the town, plans of huts and specialized structures as well as subsurface features.

787. Steel, R. H. "An Engraving of a Zulu Settlement." *South African Archaeological Society Newsletter* 5 (1982).

Illustrated notice of an engraved stone, which apparently records the layout of a Zulu settlement.

Trade

Exchanges of goods within regions and between regions were a necessary part of the adaptation of the farming lifeway to the southern savanna. The growth of these traditional socially mediated networks under the impetus of contact with foreign trade and traders is well known and discussed in summaries listed earlier.

Ethno-historical Observations

787. Balsan, F. "Ancient Gold Routes of the Monomatapa Kingdom: Researches in 1962 and 1966." *The Geographical Journal* 136 (1970): 240-46.
Field observations, and historical sources, to reconstruct ancient trading routes connecting the plateau and the east coast, with four maps depicting routes.
788. Bhila, H. H. K. *Trade and Politics in a Shorn Kingdom: The Manyika and Their African and Portuguese Neighbors 1575—1902*. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1982.
Detailed historical study of the role played by the management of trade in a customary African society. Begins with the period of a florescent Mwene Mutapa kingdom.
789. Devisse, J., and S. Labib, collaborators. "Africa in Intercontinental Relations." *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. D. T. Niane. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984. 635-72.
Summary of trade and commercial relationships between people of Africa and the peoples of Europe and Asia. Concentrates on northern half of the continent with a brief overview of the Indian Ocean trade.
790. Miracle, M. "Plateau Tonga Entrepreneurs in Historical Interregional Trade." *Human Problems in British Central Africa* 26 (1960): 34-50.
Study from ethnographic and historical sources of the extensive trading

network executed by the people of the Batoka Plateau region of southern Zambia.

791. Niane, D. T. "Relationships and Exchanges Among the Different Regions." *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century*. Ed. D. T. Niane. Berkeley, California: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984. 614-34.

Summary overview of long distance trade in Africa, as a general discussion of subject arranged by regions and commodities. Comments on the movement of ideas along trade routes and pp. 625-634, illustrated by a map of south eastern Africa, descriptive of the long distance trading network of southern Zambezia.

792. Sheriff, A. M. H. "The East African Coast and Its Role in Maritime Trade." *Ancient Civilizations of Africa*. Ed. G. Mokhtar. London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981. 551-67.

A broad historical survey of the Indian Ocean trade from classical times until the 7th century.

793. Vansina, J. "Long Distance Trade Routes in Central Africa." *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 375-90.

Distinguishes three kinds of traditional trading patterns: village to village, within single cultures; over some distance between culturally different people within a state; and long-distance exchanges between states. Describes the long history of the third kind of traditional trading pattern in the Zaire and upper Zambezi basins.

[Archaeological Observations](#)

794. Evers, T. M. "Iron Age Trade in the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 29 (1974): 33—37.

Maps Iron Age sites in the eastern Transvaal, pre-colonial trade and a summary of present state of our knowledge of the Iron Age trade in commodities detectable in the archaeological record.

795. Fagan, B. M. "Early Trade in Zambia." *Short History of Zambia*. Ed. B. M. Fagan. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966. 93-98.

Pre-European trade in central Africa from ethnography and archaeological investigations at Ingombe Ilede.

796. Fagan, B. M., "Early Trade and Raw Materials in South Central Africa." *Journal of African History* 10 (1969): 1—16.
Summary review of archaeological evidence supporting the reconstructing of the history of traditional iron, copper and salt production in south central Africa, emphasizing their role in and the archaeological evidence of interregional trade with the East Coast. Republished in Gray and Birmingham, 1970.
797. Fagan, B. M. "Early Trade in South Central Africa." *Archaeology* 22 (1969): 44-50.
Illustrated popular account of subject, emphasizing the Zambezi valley trade.
798. Sutton, J. E. G. *Early Trade in Eastern Africa*, Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.
Brief illustrated popular but detailed discussion of trade, traded commodities and trading arrangements in eastern Africa. Pp. 18—24, an account of central Africa's role in the Indian Ocean trade. Appendix 2, a bibliographical note, and discussion of his revision of the dating of Great Zimbabwe.

Trade Beads, an Imported Commodity

799. van der Merwe, N. J., et al. "Standardized Analyses of Glass Trade Beads from Mgurigundlovu and Ondini, Nineteenth Century Zulu Capitals." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 44 (1989): 98-104.
Results of a study of the frequency of glass trade bead types, using a coherent and internationally recognized classificatory scheme. Demonstrates significant differences in the types of beads and the frequency of their occurrence at the Zulu capitals. Suggests that such standardized analyses offer an opportunity for detailed studies of beads and their associations. Fine bibliography of glass trade bead studies in southern Africa.
800. van der Sleen, W. G. N. "Trade-wind Beads." *Man* 56 (1956): article 27.
Illustrated description and discussion of trade beads of Iranian origin found on Zanzibar, the east African coast, and the central African

interior. Speculates that a Persian presence on the plateau caused the local people to build Great Zimbabwe and work the mines associated with Monomatapa.

Copper, as Currency

801. Bisson, M. S. "Copper Currency in Central Africa: The Archaeological Evidence." *World Archaeology* 6 (1975): 276—92.

Illustrated field work at Kansanshe mine in northern Zambia and discussion of copper as a traditional kind of currency from ethnographic and archaeological sources. Contrasts general-purpose money and special-purpose money. Suggests copper ingots found by archaeologists in central African sites are special-purpose money but that general-purpose money is also identifiable at Ingombe Ilede and Sanga. Posits that such distinctions and identifications could aid in determining development of complex societies and the growth of long-distance trade in the subcontinent.

802. de Maret, P. "L'évolution Montaire du Shaba Central entre le 17e et le 18e Siècle." *African Economic History* 10 (1981): 117—49.

Discussion, illustrated with a map and graphs, of the increases in the volume of copper circulating within traditional economies of the copper-producing region of Zaire. Expands arguments presented in Bisson's 1975 article preceding this entry.

The Iron Age in South East Africa

The Iron Age of south central Africa generally describes the initiation of iron-using, food-producing people in the subcontinent as well as the complex societies, associated with monumental building. The small subsistence settlements of the later Iron Age were the bases upon which the ancient towns drew their sustenance. The earliest settlements of the Early Iron Age set the stage, dividing people into one region or another, upon which the later complex society and the trading combines, which underwrote them, grew.

Eastern Africa

The Iron Age of eastern Africa has a large and self-contained literature of its own. This short list suggests the form of the earliest ceramic technologies in eastern and southern Africa. The analyses of Soper tried to reconcile the different kinds of early pottery decoration and demonstrate sequence of settlement for the subcontinent. Huffman presents a different model.

Early Village Farmers

803. Fagan, B. M. "Early Iron Age Pottery in Eastern and Southern Africa." *Azania* 1 (1966): 101-109.

Illustrated survey of Early Iron Age ceramics, then included within the categories of channelled-ware and dimpled-based pottery.

804. Huffman, T. N. "The Early Iron Age and the Spread of the Bantu." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1970): 3-21.

Detailed illustrated discussion from a selected sample of Early Iron Age ceramics from east and south central Africa. Suggests that distribution of styles of early ceramics represents a pattern of discontinuous spread

rather than the continuous wave of advance along a frontier suggested by some other commentators. Supports a basic argument that early farming communities established themselves at a number of different centers within the subcontinent and then spread outwards into adjoining areas rather than flowing southwards behind a massed frontier.

805. Posnansky, M. "Pottery Types from Archaeological Sites in East Africa." *Journal of African History* 2 (1961): 177-98.

Illustrated synthesis of data from the sites of the earliest pottery producers in eastern Africa.

806. Posnansky, M. "The Iron Age in East Africa." *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Ed. W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 629—49.

Illustrated introduction to the Iron Age of eastern Africa.

807. Posnansky, M. "Terminologie [sic] in the Early Iron Age [of] Eastern [sic] Africa with Particular Reference to the Dimple-based Wares of Lo[l]ui Island, Uganda." *Sixieme Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire: Dakar 1967*. Ed. H.J. Hugot. Chambery: Imperimies Reunies, 1973. 577—79.

Summary of the distribution of a class of early pottery, believed to be associated in style with the ceramics of the earliest pottery-producing peoples in the subcontinent.

808. Smolla, G. "Präehistorische Keramik aus Ostafrika." *Trihus* n.f. 6 (1956): 35-64.

Publication of a collection of Early Iron Age pottery from southern Tanzania, originally made in the 1920s by Kohl-Larsen. Some of this pottery related to Kwale as a coastal facies of the Early Iron Age of eastern Africa.

809. Soper, R. C. "Kwale: An Early Iron Age Site in Southeastern Kenya." *Azania* 2 (1967): 1-17.

Identifies the pottery from the Kwale site, with early kinds found along the coast. Two radiocarbon dates with means in the 3rd century.

810. Soper, R. C. "A General Review of the Early Iron Age of the Southern Half of Africa." *Azania* 6 (1971): 5-38.

Significant attempt to collate various traits characteristic of Early Iron Age pottery in order to display a spatially oriented seriation pattern. The ordered areal distribution, as an array of traits depicting a moving

frontier, marking a dispersion of pottery-makers from eastern Africa toward the south

East African Pastoralists

811. Posnansky, M. "The Neolithic Cultures of East Africa." *Actes Du IVe Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire et de L'etude du Quaternaire: Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Ed. G. Mortelmans and Nenquin J. Tervuren: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden Afrika, 1962. 273-82.
Illustrated summary of the archaeological evidence for the pre-Iron Age pastoral and food-producing economies of eastern Africa.
812. Robertshaw, P., and D. P. Collett. "A New Framework for the Study of Early Pastoral Communities in East Africa." *Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 289-301.
Suggests an interpretative model for the discussion of cattle-ranging peoples of eastern Africa. Posits that pastoralism been interpreted as an ideological system as well as a subsistence strategy.

Southern Zaire

The information from the archaeology of Zaire most relevant to the explanation of the development of complex society in south east Africa is the elaborated furnished graves, extensive trading combines and the ethnohistory of the customary polities of the Zaire basin reported elsewhere above. The forests of the Zaire basin have always been seen as a significant factor, as a constraint on the extension of food-producing Iron Age societies onto the savanna of the south. This list samples the Early Iron Age of southern Zaire and later developments there.

Some Surveys of Culture History in Zaire

813. de Maret, P. "Luba Roots: The First Complete Iron Age Sequence in Zaire." *Current Anthropology* 20 (1979): 233-35.
Excavations in southern Zaire and general synthesis of the local sequence derived from the archaeological and historical reports produced by various hands since the 1950s.
814. Nenquin, J. A. E. "Notes on the Proto-historic Pottery Cultures in the Congo-Rwanda-Burundi Region." *Background to Evolution in Africa*. Ed. W. W. Bishop and J. D. Clark. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967. 651—58.
Illustrated description by regions of the ceramic successions in Zaire.
815. Nenquin, J. A. E. "The Congo, Rwanda and Burundi." *The African Iron Age*. Ed. P. L. Shinnie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. 183-214.
Illustrated summary of the cultural succession as expressed in the ceramic sequences over a wide area of Zaire.

[The Early Iron Age](#)

816. Anciaux de Faveau, E., and P. de Maret. "Premieres Datations pour la Forite du Cuivre au Shaba (Zaire)." *Bulletin de la Société Royale Beige d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire* 95 (1984): 5—20.
Report of field investigations in Shaba, Zaire, early radiocarbon dates, finds of Early Iron Age copper workings and a copper ingot similar to one reported by Vogel at the Kumadzulo site in southern Zambia.
817. Hiemaux, J. "Le Debut de L'age Metaux dans la Region des Grands Lacs Africains." *Actes du IVe Congres Panafricain de Préhistoire et de L'etude Du Quaternaire: Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Ed. G. Mortelmans and Nenquin J. Tervuren: Koninklijk Museum voor Midden Afrika, 1962. 381-90.
Summary of the evidence for the introduction of dimple-based pottery and its distribution in northeastern Zaire.

[Some Well-known Early Ceramics from Kasai](#)

818. de Maret, P. "Les Trops Farneux Pots a Fossette Basale de Kasai." *Africa-Tervuren* 26 (1980): 1-9.

Illustrated discussion of the status of the four Tshikapa vessels, which had been considered associated with the Early Iron Age Urewe style of pottery found in the Lake Victoria region and used as proof of a migration around the equatorial forests by early farming populations. Argues that an affinity to the Urewe tradition is weak and that the provenience of these vessels is obscure. These vessels first described by Nenquin in 1959, see following entry.

819. Nenquin, J. A. E. "Dimple-based Pots from Kasai, Belgian Congo." *Man* 59 (1959): article 242.

Illustrated description of Early Iron Age vessels from Tshikapa in Zaire. A cultural context for this pottery given in Nenquin's (1971) overview above but discussed as ambiguous by de Maret in 1980, see preceding entry.

[Regional Surveys](#)

820. Cahen, D., and P. de Maret. "Recherches Archéologiques Récentes en Republique du Zaire." *Periodique de l'Universite Libre de Bruxelles* 39 (1974): 33-37.

Illustrated field survey in southern Zaire.

821. Mortelmans, G. "Fouilles Archéologiques Récentes dans la Dépression de L'Upemba, Zaire." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies Nairobi 1977*, Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 348.

Brief summary of on-going field research in southern Zaire. Draws attention to similarities between the ceramic typology of the Early Iron Age there and that along the Zambian Copperbelt.

[Malawi](#)

[An Item of Ritual and Trade](#)

822. Davison-Hirschmann, S. "The Occurrence and Identification of Rungwe ('Kisi') Pottery Imported into Northern Malawi During the Iron Age," *Nyatne Akuma* 29 (1987): 45-51.

Illustrated description of a kind of pottery which was imported into northern Malawi over a long period of time. Suggests that the long-distance trade in this kind of pottery was sustained because of its use by and association with "Kisi": traditional rainmakers and mediums.

[Northern Malawi](#)

823. Robinson, K. R. "A Preliminary Report on the Recent Archaeology of Ngonde, Northern Malawi." *Journal of African History* 7 (1966): 169-88.

Illustrated field investigations along the northern end of Lake Malawi. Describes three kinds of pottery industry: the Lufira, the Rukuru, and the Mbande.

[Southern Malawi](#)

824. Cole-King, P. A., J. E. Bushell, and J. F. Bushell. "Zomba Range—an Early Iron Age Site." *Occasional Papers (2nd series)* Dept. of Antiquities publication. 14 (1973): 53-70.

Illustrated investigations at an early settlement in the Shire highlands.

825. Kurashina, H. "Archaeological Investigations Along the Nanyangu: Report on Preliminary Excavations." *Occasional Papers (second series)*, Department of Antiquities, Malawi 14 (1973): 72-89.

Illustrated field investigations at Early Iron Age sites in the southern lake area of Malawi. Includes excavations at Nanyangu I and II.

Suggests associations with Nkope style pottery.

826. Robinson, K. R. *The Iron Age of the Upper and Lower Shire, Malawi*. Zomba: The Department of Antiquities, Malawi, 1973.

Illustrated archaeological research in southern Malawi. Full description of Early Iron Age Nkope pottery as well as the domestic economy of early villages and evidence of early trade.

827. Robinson, K. R. *Iron Age Occupation North and East of the Mulanje Plateau, Malawi*. Lilongwe: Department of Antiquities, Malawi, 1977. Illustrated investigations in southeastern Malawi, Early Iron Age and later pottery.
828. Robinson, K. R. *The Nkhotakota Lake Shore and Marginal Areas, Malawi: An Archaeological Reconnaissance*. Lilongwe: Department of Antiquities, Malawi, 1979. Illustrated 1977 field investigations, describes Nkope-type pottery and latter wares.

Zambia

Except for Zimbabwe and in recent years South Africa, only Zambia has seen so concentrated a study of its Iron Age remains. With the exception of Ingombe Ilede in the Gwembe valley, first investigated by J. Chaplin and later published by B. M. Fagan and allied with the Zambezi trade of the Monomatapas, the Zambian Iron Age is the study of small-scale village farmers, adapting to marginal soils in the subcontinent.

Without the attraction of monumental structures, archaeologists were not always stirred by the buried remains of farming villages. For quite some time, archaeology north of the Zambezi was the study of the stone-based technologies of hunter-foragers. The culture of farmers was the province of ethnographers. However, in recent years, a cohort of archaeologists explored the origins of Zambia's subsistence farmers to greater effect than elsewhere in southern Africa. Even though pottery located in later Stone Ages contexts was known from the 1920s, it was only in the mid-1950s that a substantial evaluation of Iron Age village sites was undertaken. The accidental discovery of a stratified midden at Kalundu near Kalomo in southern Zambia, set a pattern for research which has continued to the present time.

The Kalundu site was initially investigated by Desmond Clark of the Livingstone Museum and Roger Summers, of the National Museums of Rhodesia. As a result of their survey, R. R. Inskeep was recruited to pursue a more extended search over a broad area which included most of Zambia's Southern Province. He discovered a number of sites on the Batoka Plateau,

in the Kalomo-Choma area, which would later be dug on a large scale by B. M. Fagan as well as other places which were later inundated by Lake Kariba. In any event, Inskeep's early surveys suggested the research potential of the Iron Age remains in Zambia, and his comparisons with Iron Age materials already known in Zimbabwe suggested that further investigation would be useful to the study of the origins of traditional societies in the subcontinent generally.

Inskeep's research touched on what would be the major concerns of archaeology for the next couple of decades: the discovery of Iron Age remains through wide-ranging regional surveys and the study of the inception of Iron Age culture in southern Africa. In the broadest sense, D. W. Phillipson, of the Zambian National Monuments Commission covered the most ground, discovering Iron Age remains in every region of the country while creating a substantive framework for understanding the settling of the country in Early Iron Age and subsequent times. Other regional surveys were conducted by M. S. Bisson in the north west, R. Derricourt in the north east, and N. M. Katanekwa and J. O. Vogel in the upper Zambezi valley of western Zambia.

At the same time, that archaeologists were surveying the country, regional cultural sequences were developed as the result of large-scale excavations on the Batoka plateau by Fagan, the Lusaka area by Phillipson, and in the Victoria Falls Region by Vogel. The latter area, investigated over a 10-year period, was the most intensely investigated discrete geographical region anywhere in southern Africa.

The field investigations of Zambian prehistory revealed a complex pattern to the Early Iron Age settlement of the country. Whereas, we once considered the territory north of the Zambezi as a corridor through which the earliest Bantu-speaking people in the subcontinent passed on their way south, we now understood that the subcontinent was settled by small groups of people who, after moving onto the plateau, first established themselves and then spread radially from these centers of initial settlement. As a result, south west Zambia in the Early Iron Age has much in common with the cultures of Southern Malawi, Zimbabwe and northern Botswana, and north east Zambia with early settlements in East Africa and northern Malawi, while the upper Zambezi above Sioma Falls has much in common with the formations presumably centered in Angola and Zaire. The patterns of migratory flow, though often exaggerated in their intensity, were ones of

gradual shifts onto nearby vacant farm land rather than extensive, large population movement over long distances. In this gradual way, the country was filled with prospering farming communities.

The investigation of stratified middens, the result of long-term occupation of single sites, which appears to be a feature characteristic of settlements in southern Zambia, suggests that subsequent to the initial populating of the country, people adapted to the unique character of slash-and-burn regimens on the plateau and developed *in situ* the identity of their traditional cultures. The archaeology of Zambia, free of the confusion imposed by a century of debate over the origin of monumental sites and the supposition of foreign invaders, discerned the origins and development the typical African farming communities of south central Africa,

Although Zambia may appear peripheral to the cultural developments south of the Zambezi, its formations reflect the origins of the complex state-like formations of the south and essential structure of fanning lifeways in the subcontinent.

829. Derricourt, R. M. "Archaeology in Zambia: An Historical Outline." *African Social Research* 21 (1976): 31-50.

The development of archaeological research in Zambia, with particular reference to a chronology of excavations and individual excavators.

830. Vogel, J. O. "The Early Iron Age in Western Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 17 (1976): 153-54.

Summary history of previous archaeological Iron Age research conducted in upper Zambezi valley of western Zambia.

[Northern Zambia](#)

[Kalambo Falls](#)

831. Clark, J. D. "The Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site: An Interim Report." *Actes du IVe Congres Panafricain de Prehistoire et L'étude du Quaternaire. Section III. Pre- et Protohistoire*. Ed. G. Mortelinans and J. Nenquin. 1962. 195-202.

Illustrated preliminary report of the 1953—1959 investigation of the

Stone Age and Iron Age levels. Appended discussion by conference participants relates to the pottery.

832. Clark, J. D. *The Kalambo Falls Prehistoric Site, Vol. 1*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Illustrated comprehensive investigations at the Kalambo Falls prehistoric site. Illustrates pottery and other finds from the Iron Age levels.

Samfya

Early Iron Age pottery was reported by Fagan and van Noten in 1964 along with other pottery referred to as "Channelled Ware," prompting Derricourt to conduct a wide-ranging survey, of the area around Lake Bangweulu in northern Zambia.

833. Derricourt, R. M. "Samfya Forest and the Chronology of the Iron Age of Northern Zambia." *Azania* 11 (1976): 153-59.

Excavations at two sites in the Samfya Forest on the western edge of Lake Bangweulu. The Early Iron Age pottery compared favorably with that from Kalambo Falls. Posits a long continuous Early Iron Age occupation of the lake.

834. Derricourt, R. M. *People of the Lakes: Archaeological Studies in Northern Zambia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press for the Institute of African Studies, University of Zambia. Zambia Papers no. 13, 1980.

Extensive illustrated field investigations in north eastern Zambia. Compiles a variety of data from field research, previous investigations and data recorded in files of the Zambian National Monuments Commission. Outlines the Iron Age succession from the Early Iron Age to later times, suggesting that the Early Iron Age persisted longer here than elsewhere and that the range early ceramic style in northern Zambia is more complex than suggested in the definition of a Kalambo style by Phillipson in 1986. Excellent introduction to a significant region.

Eastern Zambia

835. Phillipson, D. W. "The Prehistoric Succession in Eastern Zambia: A Preliminary Report." *Azania* 8 (1973): 3-24.

Illustrated investigations of the post-middle Stone Age succession in Zambia's Eastern Province. Includes details of excavations at the Kamnama Early Iron Age site. Material completely developed by Phillipson in 1976 and 1977.

[The Copperbelt](#)

836. Bisson, M. S. "Continuity and Discontinuity in Copperbelt and North-Western Province Ceramic Sequences." *Nyame Akuma* 31 (1989): 43-46.

The Early Iron Age in northwest Zambia. Statistical analyses suggest that the styles of decoration applied to pottery in Early Iron Age assemblages at Kansanshi, near Kolwezi, and Luano Springs are each distinct, but that they share more with one another than they do with stratigraphically later styles. See Robertson (1989).

837. Bisson, M. S. "Later Iron Age Ceramics from the Western Copperbelt, Zambia." *Nyame Akuma* 33 (1990): 30—33.

Illustrated description of later Iron Age pottery from the Luano South site, northern Zambia.

838. Mills, E. A. C., and N. T. Filmer. "Chondwe Iron Age Site, Ndola, Zambia." *Azania* 7 (1972): 129—45.

Field surveys and excavation at important early site in northern Zambia. Describes a significant sampling of pottery found and used in Phillipson in 1968 to define Zambian Copperbelt facies of the Early Iron Age.

839. Phillipson, D. W. "Early Iron Age Sites on the Zambian Copperbelt." *Azania* 7 (1972): 91—128.

Illustrated survey and excavation data from a series of Early Iron Age sites, analyses of pottery positing associations with a wide range of regional styles, and a suggestion that these sites represent exploitation of copper sources by traditional miners.

840. Robertson, J. H. "A New Early Iron Age Pottery Tradition from South Central Africa." *Nyame Akurna* 32 (1989): 59-64.

Illustrated response to Bisson 1989, describing early pottery from the Kansanshi site in north east Zambia and suggesting that the decorated

pottery of the local Early Iron Age ought not be treated as a stylistically homogeneous entity as Phillipson had in 1985.

Western Zambia

Archaeological Surveys

841. Vogel, J. O. "Recent Archaeological Survey in Western Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 19 (1978): 148-49.

Summary of recently conducted field survey, suggesting that the upper Zambezi valley is divisible into two cultural zones, a southern one associated with the Gokomere ceramic tradition and the Early Iron Age of the Zimbabwe plateau and a northern one associated with Sioma and a population spread out along the upper Zambezi valley as far north as Kamusongolwa. This frontier in western Zambia marks the southern extent of populations associated with the western stream of early Bantu speakers and a northern limit to Gokomere-related people, spreading northwards from southern Zambezia, 842. Vogel, J. O. "An

Archaeological Survey of the Upper Zambezi Valley in Western Zambia." *National Geographic Society Research Reports 1976 projects* (1984): 889-96.

Illustrated archaeological survey of the upper Zambezi valley in western Zambia.

843. Vogel, J. O., and N. M. Katanekwa. "Early Iron Age Pottery from Western Zambia." *Azania* 11 (1976): 160-67.

Illustrated discussion of ceramics found in survey of the upper Zambezi valley.

Sioma

844. Vogel, J. O. "The Early Iron Site at Sioma Mission, Western Zambia." *Zambia Museums Journal* 4 (1973).

Illustrated excavations at an early settlement in the upper Zambezi valley describing an important dated collection of early pottery.

Lubusi

845. Phillipson, D. W. "An Early Iron Age Site on the Lubusi River, Kaomo District, Zambia." *Zambia Museums Journal* 2 (1971): 51-67.

Illustrated description of a dated collection of Early Iron Age ceramics found in the Upper Zambezi valley. This isolated site has been attributed to a range of early material located in the upper valley and associated with the style of pottery also found at Kamusongolwa Kopje and Sioma.

Machili and Situmpa Ware

846. Clark, J. D., and B. M. Fagan. "Charcoals, Sands and Channel-Decorated Pottery from Northern Rhodesia." *American Anthropologist* 47 (1965): 354-71.

Description of the Early Iron Age pottery found at Lusu in western Zambia and Situmpa in the Machili Forest, southwest Zambia. Suggests that this style of pottery is some of the earliest in the subcontinent and related to the channelled ware of east Africa. Posits that a thick charcoal layer at the Machili site was the by-product of forest clearance by early slash-and-burn farmers.

847. Fagan, B. M. "Situmpa Ware and the Kalomo Culture." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 31.

Argues that the style of decoration on the early pottery found at the Situmpa Forest site (as described by Clark and Fagan in 1965) is not as closely related to the pottery found in the lower horizons of Kalomo area mounds as suggested by Inskeep in 1962.

848. Inskeep, R. R. "Situmpa Ware and the Kalomo Culture." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 32.

Reply to Fagan's comments above, maintaining original assessment of the relationship of the Situmpa pottery as a representative of the earliest Kalomo culture assemblage. This argument was muted by Phillipson in 1968 and Vogel in 1970 when they redefined Kalomo culture. Vogel's

research at Sioma and Katanenkwa's in the Machili forest expanded our understanding of the styles and relationships of early pottery makers in southwestern Zambia beyond the debate of the early 1960s.

849. Katanekwa, N. M. "Some Early Iron Age Sites from the Machili Valley of South Western Zambia," *Azania* 13 (1978): 135-66.

Illustrated survey and excavations in an important area of southwestern Zambia with connections to the Early Iron Age cultures of Western Zambia as well as the Batoka Plateau.

[The Kafue Basin of Southern Zambia](#)

[Itezhitezi](#)

850. Derricourt, R. M. *Man on the Kafue: The Archaeology and History of the Itezhitezi Area of Zambia*. New York: Lillian Barber Press, 1985.

Illustrated, multi-disciplinary research of Iron Age and historic settlements along the Kafue basin of southern Zambia.

851. Derricourt, R. M., L. R. Peters, and E. Maluma, "Itezhitezhi: Archaeology and Salvage in Zambia." *Current Anthropology* 17 (1976): 497-500.

Preliminary account with maps of archaeological and ethnological survey of area of southern Zambia to be flooded by the Itezhitezhi dam.

[Sebanzi](#)

852. Fagan, B. M., and D. W. Phillipson. "Sebanzi: The Iron Age Sequence at Lochinvar, and the Tonga." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 95 (1965): 253-94.

Illustrated investigations at three localities on the Lochinvar Ranch near Monze on the Kafue flood plain. The long stratified pottery sequence is interpreted as evidence of a persistent history of settlement in the area by the ancestors of the present-day Tonga. An Early Iron Age sherd from the Gwisho springs site is also described.

[The Later Iron Age and Lineage Affinities](#)

853. Huffman, T. N. "Ceramics, Settlements and Late Iron Age Migrations." *The African Archaeological Review* 7 (1989): 155—82.

Argues that the later Iron Age Luangwa pottery style suggested by Phillipson in 1974 represents evidence of groups of matrilineal Western Bantu speakers moving into territories, formerly occupied by patrilineal Eastern Bantu speakers.

854. Phillipson, D. W. "Iron Age History and Archaeology in Zambia." *Journal of African History* 15 (1974): 1—25.

Into a brief summary of the author's classification of regional Early Iron Age entities are notices of the investigations at Lubusi, in western Zambia, and Thandwe and Kamnama in the east. A review of the later Iron Age establishes an illustrated regionally based classification of the post-Early Iron Age in Zambia, suggesting that the evident stylistic changes are a consequence of the entrance of a new population and a shift from male to female potters. Discussion of the origins of the Luangwa tradition was continued by Huffman in 1989 above.

[The Batoka Plateau of Southern Zambia](#)

855. Fagan, B. M. "The Kalomo/Choma Iron Age Project: Aims and Expectations." *Historians in Tropical Africa*. Ed. Anonymous. Salisbury: University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1962. 57-59. Brief note on archaeological research in progress on the Batoka plateau.

856. Fagan, B. M. "The Kalomo/Choma Project (1960—63): Preliminary Report." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 3-19. Preliminary account of Kangila and Kalomo culture sites, Isamu Pati and Kalundu, and early Tonga sites at Makoli, Behrens and Atkins Farm.

857. Fagan, B. M. *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia (Kalomo and Kangila)* Vol. 1. London: Chatto and Windus, 1967. 232.

Extended account of Iron Age research on the Batoka plateau and the Kafue basin with detailed summaries of investigations at Kalundu, Isamu Pati, Kabondo and Kangila. The definitive account of Fagan's

research in southern Zambia and the Kalomo culture, prior to later revision of the Iron Age nomenclature.

858. Inskeep, R. R. "Some Iron Age Sites in Northern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 17 (1962): 136-80.

Results of first major research in Zambia devoted to the investigation of the Iron Age. Illustrated, comprehensive report of surveys and excavations throughout southern Zambia. Iron Age materials described from Situmpa, Lusu, Machili in south west Zambia, Kabondo in the Victoria Falls Region, Kalundu on the Batoka plateau, and Sinazongwe sites in the Zambezi valley. All these were then considered parts of the Kalomo Culture. This article forms the genesis of Iron Age studies in Zambia. It is the basis for the research regimen carried on by B. M. Fagan.

[The Victoria Falls Region of Southern Zambia](#)

[Archaeological Survey](#)

Most of the individual site reports below contain the results of initial surveys in the region.

859. Vogel, J. O. "Some Early Iron Age Sites in Southern and Western Zambia." *Azania* 8 (1973): 25—54.

Excavations at the Chundu and Zambezi Farms sites and survey notes on Siamatabolo, Linda, Mujala, Njanji, Musaya and Sefula. Includes a first report of surface finds at the Kabondo Kumbo site, which is more fully reported below.

[Dambwa](#)

The Dambwa site was the first Early Iron Age settlement located and excavated in the Victoria Falls Region. A methodology for discriminating pottery types presented by Daniels in 1965 was illustrated with sherds from Dambwa.

860. Phillipson, D. W., and B. M. Fagan. "Iron Age Chronology in Southern Zambia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 21 (1966): 121.
Letter reporting radiocarbon dates from the Dambwa site near Livingstone. Suggests that these dates cast doubt on the validity of the earliest dates at Kalundu.
861. Daniels, S. G. H., and D. W. Phillipson. "The Early Iron Age Site at Dambwa, Near Livingstone." In *Iron Age Cultures in Zambia Vol. 2: Dambwa, Ingombe Ilede, and the Tonga*. Ed. B. M. Fagan, D. W. Phillipson, and S. G. H. Daniels. London: Chatto and Windus, 1969. 1-54.
Illustrated field investigations at an important Early Iron Age settlement in the Victoria Falls Region. Depicts a significant collection of pottery and other clay and iron artifacts.

Kamangoza

862. Vogel, J. O. *Kamangoza: An Introduction to the Iron Age Cultures of the Victoria Falls Region*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1971.
Detailed illustrated archaeological surveys along the Zambezi valley. Reviews current terminology, suggesting revisions, describing sites surveyed, some trial excavation, and full-scale excavation of the stratified midden at Kamangoza. Pottery described and analyzed and a formal typology is proposed.

Kumadzulo

863. Vogel, J. O. *Kumaazulo: An Early Iron Age Village in Southern Zambia*. Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1971.
Excavation of a well-preserved village site with evidence of structures and detailed description and typological analysis of the pottery.

Kabondo Kumbo

864, Vogel, J. O. "Kabondo Kumbo and the Early Iron Age in the Victoria Falls Region." *Azania* 10 (1975): 49-75.

Detailed illustrated excavation of well-preserved Early Iron Age settlement. Describes structural remains, settlement pattern, pottery and metal objects. Overview of the Early Iron Age succession in the Victoria Falls Region places the settlement within context of the regional Early Iron Age.

[Simbusenga](#)

865. Vogel, J. O. *Simbusenga: The Archaeology of the Intermediate Period of the Southern Zambian Iron Age*. Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Description of archaeological investigations at a series of sites in the Victoria Falls Region, includes field reported on the stratified midden at Simbusenga, and single component sites at Sinde, Simonga and Mukuni, These sites are arranged into a sequence using the cultural stratigraphy derived from the middens at Simbusenga and Kamangoza, suggesting that this sequence mirrors the early history of traditional culture in the area.

[Settlement Archaeology](#)

866. Vogel, J. O. "An Early Iron Age Settlement System in Southern Zambia." *Azania* 20 (1984): 29-39.

Collates ceramic data and radiocarbon dates from an aggregate of contemporary villages from a portion of the Victoria Falls Region. Posits a village site pattern determining the location of early villages in the region within preferred patches of brachystegia *miombo*.

[Ceramic Traditions](#)

867. Vogel, I. O. "The Shongwe Tradition." *Zambia Museums Journal* 3 (1972): 27-34.

The sequence of developmental change through time of Early Iron Age ceramics in the Victoria Falls Region.

868. Vogel, J. O. "The Iron Age Pottery of the Victoria Falls Region." *Zambia Museums Journal* 5 (1980): 44—77.

Illustrated descriptive typology and seriation of the archaeological ceramics of the Victoria Falls Region. Describes pottery types and archaeological context. Establishes a sequence of ceramic horizons for the Victoria Falls Region while providing an overview of ceramic style elsewhere in the subcontinent.

Zimbabwe

The Gokomere Tradition

The Early Iron Age pottery of the plateau.

869. Vogel, J. O. "The Gokomere Tradition." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 33 (1978): 12—17.

Definition of a regional ceramic-making tradition within the Southern African Iron Age, arguing that a number of early local pottery styles may be subsumed as temporal or geographical facies into a single regional style derived from a center in eastern Zimbabwe and spread throughout the plateau, extending across the Zambezi into southern Malawi, Botswana and southwest Zambia. Posited as a product of earliest food-producing communities south of the Zambezi.

Ziwa

The pre-agricultural terracing settlements of northeast Zimbabwe.

870. Bernhard, F. O. "A 'Ritual Z2 Pit' on Ziwa Farm, Inyanga." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 14 (1959): 104—105.

Illustrated description of a Ziwa style pottery vessel found buried in a pit in a ritual context.

871. Bernhard, F. O. "The Ziwa Ware of Inyanga." *Native Affairs Department Annual (NADA)* 38 (1961): 84-92.

Illustrated pottery from the Place of Offerings, Cave of Offerings and Nyangoni River sites at Inyanga in eastern Zimbabwe.

872. Bernhard, F. O. "A Bambata-type Pot from Inyanga." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 185.

Illustrated description of Bambata-style pottery from a small cave on Ziwa Farm, Inyanga, in eastern Zimbabwe.

873. Bernhard, F. O. "Notes on the Pre-Ruin Ziwa Culture of Inyanga." *Rhodesiana* 12 (1964): 84—92.

Illustrated summary of this Early Iron Age manifestation of north east Zimbabwe.

874. Garlake, P. S. "Excavations at Maxton Farm, Near Shamva Hill, Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 3.9 (1967): 1—15.

Illustrated field investigations in the Mazoe valley in north east Zimbabwe. Suggests that pottery at this site is an immediate successor to styles associated with Ziwa, as in Summers 1958, and that this village was contemporary with the earliest stages of the Leopard's Kopje culture.

875. Thorp, C. "Cattle from the Early Iron Age of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia." *South African Journal of Science* 75 (1979): 461.

Report of cattle bone found at the Gokomere Tunnel, Mabveni and Mt. Ziwa sites. Posits that cattle were a part of Early Iron Age economies. Suggests possible origins from the Gokomere/Ziwa cattle.

[Leopard's Kopje Tradition](#)

Early Iron Age settlements in Matabeleland.

876. Crawford, J. R. "Test Excavations at Mapela Hill, Near the Shashi River, Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 3.34 (1968): 1—29.

Illustrated excavations at a late Leopard's Kopje village site.

877. Huffman, T. N. "Excavations at Leopard's Kopje Main Kraal: A Preliminary Report." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 25 (1971): 85-89.

Illustrated initial investigation of a site more fully reported by Huffman in 1974 following. Posits that the Zhiso phase is not only earlier than the Mambo but that each is a separate cultural tradition.

878. Huffman, T. N. *The Leopard's Kopje Tradition*. Salisbury: The Trustees of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia, 1974. Detailed illustrated monograph describes results of field investigations in the Bulawayo area. Redefines Leopard's Kopje culture: one horizon, Zhiso, is attributed to the earliest occupations and the later ones. Mambo and Woolandale, as part to a later entity: the Leopard's Kopje tradition.
879. Huffman, T. N. "The Origins of Leopard's Kopje: An 11th Century Difanquane." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 8.23 (1978): 1—23. Detailed ceramic analysis and seriation of stylistic elements on prehistoric pottery is used to interpret the origins and pattern of settlement of Zimbabwe by early second millennium people, who gave rise to the Leopard's Kopje tradition. Cites Bambata as first described by Schofield in 1941, Lydenburg and NC3, as first described by Schofield in 1935 and 1948 as the ancestors to the Leopard's Kopje style of pottery decoration. Posits a southern origin for this tradition found in the Bulawayo area of Zimbabwe.
880. Robinson, K. R. "The Leopard's Kopje Culture: A Preliminary Report on Recent Work." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 1.25 (1965): 1-15. Early field investigations and analyses defining an Iron Age cultural progression in the Bulawayo region.
881. Robinson, K. R. "The Leopard's Kopje Culture, Its Position in the Iron Age of Southern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 21 (1966): 5-51. Extensive summary of excavated sites and other field evidence used to define the phases of the Leopard's Kopje culture. Suggests that the Leopard's Kopje culture encompasses the pre-Khami period Iron Age history of Matabeleland.

[Sinoia and Kapwirimbe Traditions](#)

[Zimbabwean Settlements](#)

These two pottery traditions represent culturally related Early Iron Age settlements of north east Zimbabwe and south eastern Zambia.

882. Huffman, T. N. "The Early Iron Age of the Urungwe District, Rhodesia." *Rhodesian Prehistory* 8 (1972): 12—16.

Illustrated description and characterization of the style of pottery making labeled the Sinoia tradition. Suggests that this tradition is a distinct one, though it forms a unity with similar styles found with the Kalundu and Kapwirimabwe groups as described by Phillipson.

883. Huffman, T. N. "Test Excavations at Naba and Lanlory, Northern Mashonaland." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 14—46.

Illustrated investigations at two Early Iron Age village sites in north west Zimbabwe. Suggests that these villages had a cultural affiliation to the makers of the Kapwirimabwe style of pottery found north of the Zambezi.

Zambian Settlements

884. Phillipson, D. W. "Finds from Kapwirimabwe, Lusaka." *Inventaria Archaeologica Africana* 5 (1968): 1-10.

Illustrations of the finds from the Kapwirimabwe site.

885. Phillipson, D. W. "The Early Iron Age Site at Kapwirimabwe." *Azania* 3 (1969): 1-19.

Illustrated excavations at Early Iron Age settlement, 886. Phillipson, D. W. "Excavations at Twickenham Road, Lusaka." *Azania* 5 (1970): 77-118.

Illustrated excavation of the Early and later Iron Age settlements in Lusaka, Zambia. Describes the pottery, deemed to be associated with but slightly later than that at the Kapwirimabwe site.

Northeast Zimbabwe

887. Crawford, J. R. "An Early Iron Age Site from Kimberley Reef Mine, Bindura." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 22 (1967): 20-23.

Illustrated Early Iron Age ironworking settlement near the site of ancient gold workings in northeast Zimbabwe.

Chitope

888. Crawford, J. R. "Chitope: An Early Iron Age Village in Northern Mashonaland." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 4.19 (1969): 1—14.

Illustrated excavation report. Suggests that Chitope may be dated to the 12th century, and it is typical of villages at the end of the Early Iron Age.

Salisbury Common

889. Schofield, J. F. "Salisbury Commonage Sites." *South African Journal of Science* 29 (1933): 772-77.

Description of collections at a rock painting site outside Harare, including an illustrated discussion of sherds of later Iron Age pottery.

Tafuna Hill

890. Garlake, P. S. "An Early Iron Age Site Near Tafuna Hill, Mashonaland." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 26 (1971): 155-63.

Illustrated excavations at an Early Iron Age settlement in northern Zimbabwe.

891. Garlake, P. S. "New Radiocarbon Date." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 28 (1973): 166.

Radiocarbon date from the Tafuna Hill site, dating Tafuna hill to the 9th century.

892. Huffman, T. N. "Tafuna Hill." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 29 (1974): 65-66.

Comments on the chronological and cultural status of the Tafuna Hill

site, reported by Garlake, and expresses doubt that Tafuna Hill villagers mined the nearby gold stopes.

Northwest Zimbabwe

893. Huffman, T. N. "Test Excavations at Makuru, Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 5.39 (1973): 1—21.

Illustrated field investigations at a late Early Iron Age settlement in the Shabani district of northwest Zimbabwe. Suggests that the discovery of glass beads indicates participation in trading nets extending to the East Coast.

894. Huffman, T. N. "The Iron Age of the Buhwa District, Rhodesia." *Occasional Papers of the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia* 4.3 (1978): 81-100.

Illustrated archaeological survey in northwest Zimbabwe. Describes cultural remains representing the spectrum of local manifestations from the Early Iron Age upon the period of Zimbabwe culture. Illustrates local ceramics and figurines as well as plans of the stone-walled settlements.

895. Robinson, K. R. "The Iron Age Site in Kapula Vlei, Near the Masuma Dam, Wankie Game Reserve, Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 2.39 (1966): 1—7. Illustrated description of a small number of sherds from an Early Iron Age settlement.

Southern Zimbabwe

Chamabvefva

896. Huffman, T. N. "Iron Age Archaeology." *21st Expedition: Runde*. Ed. anon. Bulawayo: Rhodesian Schools Exploration Society (Matabeleland Branch), 1971.

Illustrated field survey and preliminary excavations at the Chamabvefva site.

897. Huffman, T. N. "Test Excavations at Chamabvefva, Southern Mashonaland." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 34 (1979): 57-70. Illustrated report of excavations at a small stone-walled sites in southern Zimbabwe. Suggests that Chamabvefva was a second-level provincial capital in the political system regulated from Great Zimbabwe. Initial report of this site in Huffman (1971).

Mabveni

898. Robinson, K. R. "An Early Iron-Age Site from the Chibi District, Southern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 16 (1961): 75-101. Illustrated investigation of an Early Iron Age settlement, Mabveni, and an extensive collection of pottery as well as the remains of a daga floor and other remains. Suggests that this one-component site was occupied late in the Early Iron Age prior to the earliest settlement at Great Zimbabwe.

Clay Figurines

899. Goodall, E. "A Specific and Early Pottery Tradition of Northern Mashonaland." *Proceedings of the First Federal Science Conference* 1 (1960): 441-51. Illustrated discussion of clay figurines modelled in human and animal form. Posits that such clay figures have a long history in the traditional cultures of the subcontinent. Such figurines have since been frequently found at Iron Age sites throughout the subcontinent and are identified with the later Iron Age.
900. Robinson, K. R. "Clay Figurines from South-western Zimbabwe: A Closer Look in the Light of Recent Evidence." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 43 (1988): 49-52. Illustrated discussion of clay figurines in human form found associated with Woolandale phase sites. Posits that some depict the wearing of cloth garments and that others exhibit cicatrized body markings. A third kind of clay object is an implement used in a child's game.

Early Iron Age Affinities

901. Huffman, T. N. "The Linguistic Affinities of the Iron Age in Rhodesia." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 7.7 (1974): 1—12.

Detailed discussion of the distribution of the Early Iron Age ceramic traditions in Zimbabwe. Posits that each of these different groups of pottery makers spoke some dialect of Eastern Bantu and that the earliest potting complexes in northern South Africa appear to be associated with the origins of South East Bantu speakers there. Suggests that the later complex of Shona speakers in Zimbabwe appears to be the result of a later migration of new people into the region.

Botswana

The archaeology of Botswana is still developing. A country which consists of vast expanses of Kalahari sandveld would seem daunting, both as a research area and as a source of valuable information on the growth of social complexity. In the past, the emphasis was on the Stone Age and stone-based technologies or studies of the San as a surrogate for history's hunter/forager communities. Yet even this short list of publications suggests a complexity of interesting research questions and initiatives, these include investigating the advent of cattle ranging, the initiation of Iron Age farming economies, and the elaboration of early societies.

It would appear for the moment that cattle ranging was established early and that the earliest farmers entered the country from the east, settled, and through social processes, involving material exchanges and the accumulation of wealth in their herds, began a hierarchically arranged and socially differentiated society. Although, many areas of the sandveld were to abandoned, it would appear that the Botswana situation offers a useful model for understanding the development of social complexity elsewhere on the plateau. In later Iron Age times, Botswana participated in the net of economic enterprise which signals the Zimbabwean system.

902. Campbell, A. C. "Notes on the Prehistoric Background." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R.

Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 13-22.

Summary introduction to the archaeological sequence in Botswana.

[Ancient Mines and Mining](#)

903. Dowie, R. C. "An Ancient Copper Mine." *Proceedings of the Rhodesia Scientific Association* 2 (1904): 63-65.

Paper presented July 1901. The field examination of an ancient mine, and a section of stone walling, on the Selkirk Property, near Francistown, Botswana.

904. Molyneux, T. G., and T. Reinecke. "Some Ancient Ruins and Mines in the Tati Region of North-east Botswana." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 99. Illustrated survey of ancient mining sites in the Francistown district of Botswana. Some 14 localities described and a radiocarbon date in the 15th century offered as proof of a contemporaneity with mines and mining activity in Zimbabwe.

[Archaeology of Hierarchical Settlement Systems](#)

905. Denbow, J. R. "A New Look at the Later Prehistory of the Kalahari." *Journal of African History* 27 (1986): 3-28.

Detailed look at recent archaeological research in Botswana, discussing the process of Early Iron Age settlement and the development of hierarchical settlement systems.

906. Denbow, J. R., and E. N. Wilmsen. "Iron Age Pastoral Settlements in Botswana." *South African Journal of Science* 79 (1983): 405-408.

Iron Age sequences for the hardveld and sandveld zones of Botswana. Both zones supported developed Iron Age societies and a comprehensive material culture. Iron Age settlement apparently began in the east from sources originating in Zimbabwe. Settlements in both zones engaged in wide-ranging exchange networks. It is posited that those on the sandveld developed more mixed economies within settlements of a uniform size, while hardveld sites tended to be larger in general than the sandveld ones with suggestions of tripartite division

and signs of incipient social differences. List of radiocarbon dates and a preliminary evaluation of the author's research.

907. Kiyaga-Mulindwa, D. "Botswana and 'Urban Origins in Eastern Africa' *Urban Origins in Eastern Africa*. Ed. P. J. J. Sinclair and J. A. Rakotoarisoa. Stockholm: The Central Board of National Antiquities, 1990. 184-86.
Brief review of available resources useful for the study of urban origins in Botswana, and a plan for future research.

Broadhurst, an Early Iron Age Settlement

908. Denbow, J. R. "Broadhurst—A 14th Century a.d. Expression of the Early Iron Age in South-eastern Botswana." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 36 (1981): 66—74.
Illustrated field investigations at a late Early Iron Age settlement, thought to be related in a general way to similar manifestations in the Transvaal and Natal. Contrasted with contemporary phenomena in Botswana and western Zimbabwe.

The Toutswe Tradition

909. Denbow, J. R. "The Toutswe Tradition: A Study in Socioeconomic Change." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Eds. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 73—86.
Description from field investigations of important regional aspect of the Early Iron Age, in which there are suggestions of an increasing social complexity through time indicated by development of settlement hierarchies and increases in herd size.
910. Denbow, J. R. "Cows and Kings: A Spatial and Economic Analysis of a Hierarchical Early Iron Age Settlement System in Eastern Botswana." *Frontiers: Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 24-39.

Illustrated summary of long-term field work in the Toutswe district of Botswana. Outlines growth and decline of hierarchical settlement systems along the eastern margins of the Kalahari. Suggests a process of centralization based on the control of wealth in the form of cattle herds. Posits that cattle-ranging people entered the region about the 8th century, that they were associated with people in Zimbabwe who made pottery in the Zhiso style of the Gokomere tradition.

911. Lepionka, L. "A Preliminary Account of Archaeological Investigation at Tautswe." *Botswana Notes and Records* 3 (1971): 22-26.

Field investigations at an Early Iron Age village in Botswana. Faunal remains from this site indicate the presence of domesticated cattle.

912. Lepionka, L. "Ceramics at Tautswemogala, Botswana." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 62-71.

Illustrated inventory and analyses of Early Iron Age pottery collection.

913. Welbourne, R. G. "Tautswe Iron Age Site: Its Yield of Bones."

Botswana Notes and Records 7 (1975): 1—16.

Illustrated analyses of a faunal assemblage from an important Botswana Early Iron Age settlement. Posits that occupants were pastoralists, who kept Sanga-type cattle, sheep, goats and dogs.

[The Advent of Pastoralist Economies](#)

914. Denbow, J. R., and E. N. Wilmsen. "Advent and Course of Pastoralism in the Kalahari." *Science* 234 (1986): 1509—15.

Survey of recent investigations of the Iron Age along the fringes of the Kalahari. Suggests that food-producing economies were first established in the Kalahari by the mid-first millennium. Repeats results of preceding.

915. Klein, R. G. "The Prehistory of Stone Age Herding in South Africa." *From Hunters to Farmers*. Ed. J. D. Clark and S. A. Brandt. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. 281—89.

A summary of archaeological evidence related to the introduction of domestic animals and pastoralism to southern Africa and a survey of source materials.

Pottery Descriptions

916. Junod, S. M. "A Note on Pottery from Tsodilo, Bechuanaland." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 20.
Illustrated note on pottery fragments from northwest Botswana.
917. Robbins, L. H. "The Depression Site, Tsodilo Hills." *Nyame Akuma* 29 (1987): 2. Field investigation of a painted rockshelter site in northern Botswana with description of Early Iron Age pottery fragments.
918. Schofield, J. F. "Pottery from Bechuanaland and Rhodesia." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 30 (1943): 1—16.
Illustrated catalogue of later pottery from Botswana and Zimbabwe, including some collected at Gokomere.

Early Iron Age Migrations

919. Denbow, J. R. "Congo to Kalahari: Data and Hypotheses About the Political Economy of the Western Stream of the Early Iron Age." *African Archaeological Review* 8 (1990): 139—75.
Illustrated preliminary account of on-going field investigations on the coastal regions of the Congo Republic. Results compared to the author's earlier observations in Botswana. Establishes a model for the expansion of Early Iron Age settlers associated with the western stream as developed in the writings of Phillipson from 1977 onwards.

The Later Iron Age

920. van Waarden, C. "Matanga: A Late Zimbabwe Cattle Post." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 102—24.
Illustrated field investigations at a late-15th-century cattle-ranging settlement in north east Botswana. Posits a cattle post from frequency of kraals and draws contrasts with the layout of the farming village at Vumba (see below). Discusses the role of cattle in Zimbabwe phase society and regional variants in the dominant pottery of the period.

921. van Waarden, C. "The Granaries of Vumba: Structural Interpretation of a Khami Period Commoner Site." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 8 (1989): 131-57.

Illustrated archaeological investigations at a Khami period village site in Botswana. Posits a farming hamlet occupied by commoners. Analyses of the spatial arrangement of granaries suggest settlement pattern which adheres to the canons of the Southern Bantu Cattle complex as suggested by Huffman.

[Northwestern Botswana](#)

922. Hendrickson, H. *Early Iron Age Ceramics from Northwestern Botswana: The Evidence from Matlapaneng, Nlorna, and Divuyu*. New York: Masters thesis submitted to the Faculty of New York University, 1986.

Detailed descriptive and classificatory analyses of ceramics recovered in conjunction with the research of Denbow and Wilmsen. Evaluates the hypotheses for the spread of early Iron Age technologies implicit in the writings of Huffman, Phillipson and Vogel.

[Some Ethnographic Observations](#)

923. Ngcongco, L. "Precolonial Migration in Southeastern Botswana." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 23-30.

Summary from archaeological and historical sources describing the establishment and distribution of the pre-colonial populations in Botswana.

[Traditional Exchange Mechanisms](#)

924. Cashdan, E. "Trade and Its Origins on the Botletli River, Botswana." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 42 (1987): 121-38.
Ethnographic study from field observations of social organization of a traditional intra-regional exchange network.
925. Wilmsen, E. N. "Exchange, Interaction, and Settlement in North-western Botswana: Past and Perspectives." *Proceedings of the Symposium on Settlement in Botswana: The Historical Development of a Human Landscape*. Ed. R. R. Hitchcock and M. R. Smith. Marshalltown, South Africa: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1982. 98-109.
Discussion, from ethnographic and historic accounts of social parameters regulating traditional exchange arrangements.

South Africa

The following presents a sampling of research into the Iron Age in the Transvaal and Natal on sites other than those associated with stone walling.

926. Mason, R. J. "Archaeology and History in the South African Interior." *Historia* 30 (1985): 6—12.
Summary overview of the course of archaeological and historical studies in South Africa with particular reference to the author's research.

The Transvaal

927. Mason, R. J. "The Origin of South African Society." *South African Journal of Science* 61 (1965): 255-67.
Illustrated summary from published historical and archaeological sources and field investigations toward a coherent survey of the evidence for the Iron Age in the Transvaal and the history of the indigenous cultures. Significant first attempt at synthesis for the Iron Age south of the Limpopo. Illustrated with aerial photographs of Iron Age settlements, drawings of an iron smelter and photographs of pottery.

General Survey Results

928. Evers, T. M. "Iron Age Research in the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa, 1971." *Current Anthropology* 14 (1973): 487-88.
Preliminary results from field survey and aerial reconnaissance of investigations on the escarpment around Lydenburg.
929. Evers, T. M. "Recent Iron Age Research in the Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 30 (1975): 71-83.
Illustrated account of extensive field surveys and excavations in two areas of the eastern Transvaal, including the Harmony site in the Letaba district and another near Lydenburg. Suggests an Iron Age chronology for the eastern Transvaal.
930. Mason, R. J., J. M. Houmoller, and R. Steel. "Archaeological Survey of the Magalies Valley." *South African Journal of Science* 77 (1981): 310-12.
Illustrated account of an extensive archaeological survey of the area west of Pretoria in the Transvaal, South Africa, describes a number of Early Iron Age as well as later sites.

Early Iron Age Sites

931. Evers, T. M. "Three Early Iron Age Sites in N.E. Transvaal Lowveld," *South African Journal of Science* 69 (1973): 375.
Illustrated field investigations at Early Iron Age sites at Harmony farm, Eiland and Landraad in the Letaba district, of South Africa. Posits that these three sites form a common ceramic style with that of Silver Leaves farm, below.
932. Evers, T. M. "Plaston Early Iron Age Site, White River District, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 32 (1977): 170-78.
Illustrated excavations at a 5th century site with pottery styles associated with the Lydenburg site.
933. Evers, T. M. "Klingbeil Early Iron Age Sites, Lydenburg, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 35 (1980): 46-57.
Illustrated excavations at two Early Iron Age sites near Lydenburg.

Suggests that these occupations belong to the second stage of the local Early Iron Age and are dated to the 9th century.

934. Evers, T. M., and J. C. Vogel. "Radiocarbon Dates for Iron Age Sites at Lydenburg and White River, Eastern Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 76 (1980): 230—31.

Radiocarbon dates: three are from Early Iron village sites and one from a later Iron Age locality.

Tafelkop

935. Mason, R. J. "South African Iron Age Pottery from the Southern Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 7 (1952): 70-79. Illustrated descriptive report of pottery collected at Tafelkop. Suggests an association of this pottery with contemporary wares of Zimbabwe and the northern Transvaal.

Broederstroom

936. Huffman, T. N. "Broederstroom and the Origins of Cattle-keeping in Southern Africa." *African Studies* 49.2 (1990): 1—12. Discussion and analysis of the faunal evidence from a broad area of southern Africa. Positing that the consensus opinion holds that large-scale cattle ranging for bride-wealth began about 1000 a.d. with the beginning of the later Iron Age, argues for the establishment of the Central Cattle Pattern from the beginning of the Early Iron Age in southern Africa. Suggests that the low frequency of cattle remains found in early settlements is a function of ritual burning of sacrificed animals.
937. Mason, R. J. "First Early Iron Age Settlement in South Africa: Broederstroom 24/73, Brits District, Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 69 (1973): 324. Brief note reporting discovery of the Broederstroom site, dated by radiocarbon to the 5th century.
938. Mason, R. J. "Background to the Transvaal Iron Age—New Discoveries at Broederstroom and Olifantspoort." *Journal of the South African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* 74 (1974): 211—16.

Illustrated summary of investigations at Early Iron Age and later localities in the Transvaal, with a proposed culture history for the region.

939. Mason, R. J. "Early Iron Age Settlement at Broederstroom 24/73 Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Journal of Science* 77 (1981): 401-16.

Illustrated excavations at a cluster of Iron Age sites in the Broederstroom locality, reconstructing huts and describing graves, evidence of smelting and a large collection of pottery. Specialist appendices: van Reenen (human teeth), de Villiers (human osteology), Brown (fauna) and Voight (malacology).

940. Mason, R. J. *Origins of Black People of Johannesburg and the Southern Western Central Transvaal, A.D. 350—1880*. Johannesburg: Archaeological Research Unit, the University of the Witwatersrand, 1986.

Wide-ranging collection of reports detailing the author's investigations at Iron Age localities in the Johannesburg area. Includes a detailed account of the author's investigations at Broederstroom and Olifantspoort.

Silver Leaves

941. Klapwijk, M. "An Early Iron Age Site Near Tzaneen, N.E. Transvaal." *South African Journal of Science* 69 (1973): 324.

Brief note with map reporting investigations at Silver Leaves farm with radiocarbon dates from the 3rd and 4th century as evidence of early occupations south of the Limpopo comparable to those to the north.

942. Klapwijk, M. "A Preliminary Report on Pottery from the Northeastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 29 (1974): 19-23.

Illustrated description of field investigations at the Early Iron Age settlement at Silver Leaves, Tzaneen, describing the pottery. Suggests that this settlement represents an early farming community associated with an unknown style of pottery decoration. An appendix to this paper by de Winter and Loxton identifies carbonized pennisetum seeds.

Phalabowra

943. Evers, T. M., and N. J. van der Merwe. "Iron Age Ceramics from Phalabowra North Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 87-106.

Excellent extensive illustrated presentation of the ceramics excavated from various sites at Phalabowra. Posits that the pottery sequence is divisible into separate stylistic traditions: the early one is represented by two different styles, the Moloko and the Kgopolwe, and a later one belonging to the Letaba style. The different styles of pottery are depicted and a cultural sequence posited.

944. van der Merwe, N. J., and R. T. K. Scully. "The Phalaborwa Story: Archaeological and Ethnographic Investigation of a South African Iron Age Group." *World Archaeology* 3 (1971): 178-96.

Illustrated field investigations in the Phalabowra district of the Transvaal, positing a chronology extending from an initial Iron Age occupation in the 8th century to recent times. Associates a Sotho group, the BaPhalabowra, with the archaeological remains.

Lydenburgh Heads Site

945. Evers, T. M. "Excavations at the Lydenburg Heads Site, Eastern Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 16-33.

Detailed illustrated field investigations at an Early Iron Age site. Posits the settlement as a community associated with the Gokomere tradition found elsewhere in the region. Examines the find spot of the clay head, but its position relative to other portions of the site not determined. Specialist appendices by Voight and Hilliers on faunal and burial evidence.

946. Inskip, R. R. "The Problem of Bantu Origins." *Problems in Economic and Social Archaeology*. Ed. G. de G. Sieveking, I. H. Longworth, and K. E. Wilson. London: Duckworth, 1974.

General survey of the beginning of the Early Iron Age in eastern and southern Africa, includes photographs of the modelled terracotta heads from Lydenburg.

947. Inskip, R. R, and T. M. O'C. Maggs. "Unique Art Objects in the Iron Age of the Transvaal, South Africa." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 30 (1975): 114—38. Illustrated field investigations in the vicinity of the Lydenburg site, first recorded in Inskip and von Bezing (1966).
Illustrates additional terracotta heads and associated finds. A further excavation at the original heads site reported by Evers in 1982.
948. Inskip, R. R., and K. L. von Bezing. "Modelled Terra-cotta Heads from Lydenburg, South Africa." *Man* 1 (1966): 102.
Brief illustrated announcement of the discovery of two modelled terracotta heads.

Klipviersberg

949. Friede, H. M. "Use of a Pulsed Induction Meter and Magnetometer for Locating Buried Archaeological Material at Klipviersberg 31/78 Iron Age Site. Part 2 Metal Artefacts." *South African Journal of Science* 76 (1980): 319-320.
Illustrated description of metal objects located at a later Iron Age site in the northern Transvaal.
950. Mason, R. J. "Use of a Pulsed Induction Meter and Magnetometer for Locating Buried Archaeological Material at Klipviersberg 31/78 Iron Age Site. Part 1: Archaeology." *South African Journal of Science* 76 (1980): 317—18.
Illustrated discussion of locating daga-walled huts at a late Iron Age settlement in the Transvaal. Plan of the structure located.

The Later Iron Age

951. Chatterton, J. F., D. P. Collett, and J. T. Swan. "A Late Iron Age Village Site in the Letaba District, Northeast Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 109-19.
Illustrated field investigations at one of the localities within the Harmony Farm complex.

952. Derricourt, R. M., and T. M. Evers. "Robertsdift, an Iron Age Site and Settlement on the Banks of the Vaal and Klip Rivers Near Standerton, South-east Transvaal." *African Studies* 32 (1973): 183-96.

Illustrated investigations by excavation and surface survey at various Iron Age localities in the Klip river basin.

953. Evers, T. M. "Two Later Iron Age Sites on Matebe, Hans Merensky Nature Reserve, Letaba District, N. E. Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 37 (1982): 63-67.

Illustrated field investigations and excavations at a later Iron Age village and smelting site.

954. Klapwijk, M., and T. M. Evers. "A Twelfth Century Eiland Facies Site in the North-east Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 42 (1987): 39-44.

Illustrated field investigations of a second horizon, belonging to a 12th-century Iron Age occupation at the Silver Leaves site.

955. Taylor, M. O. V. "Wildebeestfontein: A Late Iron Age Site in the Southeast Transvaal." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 120-29.

Illustrated field investigations of a late Iron Age settlement.

[Natal](#)

956. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "The Iron Age Sequence South of the Vaal and Pongola Rivers: Some Historical Implications." *Journal of African History* 21 (1980): 1-15.

Summary of field investigations and an interpretation of recent investigations in an area of Natal, said to represent the southernmost spread of Bantu-speaking people. Reviews prior discussion of the archaeology of the region by Schofield in 1935, while presenting an ecological model of Early Iron Age settlement loci, and contrasts the settlement pattern of the Early Iron Age occupations with those of later times.

[Early Iron Age Sites](#)

957. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Mzonjani and the Beginnings of the Iron Age in Natal." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 24 (1980): 71—96.
Illustrated excavations at an Early Iron Age village dated to the third/fourth century.
958. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Msuluzi Confluence: A Seventh Century Early Iron Age Site on the Tugela River." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 24 (1980): 111-45.
Illustrated excavations at an Early Iron Age village site, demonstrating evidence of the pottery technology and the economy of early communities in the region.
959. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Ndondondwane: A Preliminary Report on an Early Iron Age Site on the Lower Tugela River." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 26 (1984): 71-93.
Illustrated investigations at an important mid-8th-century settlement. Reconstructs the economy and diet with evidence of structures and a significant collection of pottery.

[The Later Iron Age](#)

960. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Mgoduyanuka: Terminal Iron Age Settlement in the Natal Grasslands." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 25 (1982): 83-113.
Illustrated excavation of a late Nguni-affiliated village site.
961. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Mabhija: Pre-colonial Industrial Development in the Tugela Basin." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 25 (1982): 123-41.
Illustrated account of a later Iron Age smelting site associated with the Nguni.

[Ceramic Chronology](#)

962. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "The NC3 Iron Age Tradition." *South African Journal of Science* 69 (1973): 326.
Characterizes the NC3 pottery style, originally described by Schofield in 1935, with comparisons to similarly decorated pottery from various localities in the Transvaal.

963. Schofield, J. F. "Natal Coastal Pottery from the Durban District: A Preliminary Survey." *South African Journal of Science* 32 (1935): 508-27.

Illustrated description of pottery from various sites on the Natal coast. Creates a chronological series of ceramics, associating NCI pottery with the pre-Bantu inhabitants of the coast, NC2 with contemporaries of the earliest iron-using people and NC3 and NC4 with iron-using and iron-smelting Bantu-speaking peoples. The NC3 decorative pottery style extended into the Transvaal in Maggs (1973). Maggs (1980) suggested that the sequence proposed by Schofield may be reversed.

Mozambique

Mozambique is another country with a short history of archaeological endeavor. As this list suggests, it is a country of research potential, with many important and interesting questions yet to be delved into. As a participant in the Zimbabwean system, its upland regions hold promise for exhibiting the growth and structuring of socially mediated networks on the plateau. Coastal areas have potential for elucidating questions of early Arab and Portuguese settlements and trade. At the same time, the Zambezi valley as well as other areas of the country experienced the initiation and development of a range of early and evolving Iron Age communities.

964. Morais, J. M. "Prehistoric Research in Mocambique." *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Ed. anon. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigaco Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro de Estudios Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976.

Brief history of archaeological research in Mocambique and a statement of goals of current investigations. Concludes with an extensive bibliography of sources, chiefly in Portuguese, on the archaeology of Mocambique from 1896 to the present.

965. Morais, J. "Mozambican Archaeology: Past and Present." *African Archaeological Review* 2 (1984): 113—28.

Brief history of past archaeological research in Mozambique and goals of current investigations.

[Manykeni, a Mozambican Zimbabwe](#)

966. Barker, G. "Economic Models for the Makweni Zimbabwe, Mozambique." *Azania* 13 (1978): 17-100.
Account of field investigations at a stone-built enclosure on the coastal plain of southern Mozambique (see following). Makweni as part of an extensive trading network and the central role cattle ranging played in the local economy and in centralizing authority.
967. Garlake, P. S. "An Investigation of Manekweni, Mozambique." *Azania* 11 (1976): 25-47.
Illustrated field investigations. Suggests site was a contemporary of Great Zimbabwe and the capital of an administrative ward associated with it.
968. Morais, J., and P. J. J. Sinclair. "Manyiken, a Zimbabwe in Southern Mozambique." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies Nairobi, 1977*. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 351-54.
Illustrated field investigations at this enclosure in southern Mozambique. Posits that the early building sequence coincides with the middle periods at Great Zimbabwe and that the latter occupation is associated with a movement of Shona people into the region in the mid-16th century.

[Matola, an Early Iron Age Settlement](#)

969. Cruz e Silva, T. "A Preliminary Report of an Early Iron Age Site: Matola IV 1/68." *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Ed. anon. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigaco Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro de Estudos Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976. 1-13.
Illustrated field investigations and analyses of ceramics from the Early Iron Age settlement of Matola IV, near Maputo in southern Mozambique.
970. Cruz e Silva, T. "First Indications of Early Iron Age in Southern Mozambique, Matola IV 1/68." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafricatt*

Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, Nairobi, 1977. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 349-50.

Illustrated field investigations. Suggests a broad range of similarities to the other Early Iron Age ceramics of the subcontinent, and posits that this research lends credence to hypothesis of an eastern coastal route for some early movement into southern Africa.

971. Sinclair, P. J. J., N-G. Nydolf, and G. Wickman-Nydolf. *Excavations at the University Campus Maputo, Mozambique 1984- 85*. Stockholm: Studies in African Archaeology 1. Central Board of National Antiquities, 1987.

Illustrated field research at the site of an Early Iron Age settlement related to the Matola style of ceramics.

Chibuene, an Early Trading Settlement

972. Sinclair, P. J. J. "Chibuene: An Early Trading Site in Southern Mozambique." *Paideuma* 28 (1982): 150-64.

Illustrated field investigations and description of material culture at early trading settlement on the Indian Ocean coast in southern Mozambique. The site was first occupied by the 9th or 10th century and involved in the trade of manufactured goods for commodities from the emergent towns in the interior of the south central African plateau.

The Zambezi Valley

973. Ramos, M. "Une enciente (Monomotapa?) peu connue du Plateau du Sorxgo, Mozambique." *Proceedings of the 8th Panafrican Congress of Prehistory and Quaternary Studies, Nairobi 1977*. Ed. R. E. Leakey and B. A. Ogot. Nairobi: International Louis Leakey Institute for African Prehistory, 1980. 355—56.

Illustrated field investigations at a small stone-walled enclosure near the Zambezi valley.

Coastal and Southern Mozambique

974. Dickinson, R. W. "The Archaeology of the Sofala Coast." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 30 (1975): 84—104.
Illustrated field surveys and excavations of later Iron Age sites on the Mozambique coast. Discussion of gold routes and Portuguese contacts with interior.
975. Morais, J. M. *The Early Farming Communities of Southern Mozambique*. Stockholm: Studies in African Archaeology 3. Central Board of National Antiquities, 1988.
Illustrated field research at archaeological sites in southern Mozambique. Results of archaeological survey and excavation set within an historical framework, ceramics analysis. The lifeways of village peoples reconstructed with reference to site ecology and ethnographic observation.
976. Morais, J. M., and T. da Cruz e Silva. "A Tentative Construction of a Model: Modern Traditional Pottery from the Coastal Plain—Gaza Province." *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Ed. anon. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigaco Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro de Estudios Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976.
Illustrated account of traditional pot-making techniques. Suggests links between vessel shape and decorative motif.
977. Senna-Martinez, J. C. de. "A Preliminary Report on Two Iron Age Pottery Traditions from Southern Mocambique Coastal Plain." *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Ed. anon. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigaco Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro de Estudios Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976.
Illustrated field investigations and ceramic analysis of materials associated with a *southern Mocambique kitchen midden tradition*. Correlates style from these sites with other named categories. Describes an early phase associated with initial peopling of the coast and a later phase related to the Matola tradition.
978. Sinclair, P. J. J., et al. *Analyses of Slag, Iron, Ceramics and Animal Bones from Excavations in Mozambique*. Stockholm: Studies in African

Archaeology 2. Central Board of National Antiquities, 1988.

Essays describe results of material analyses.

979. Teixeira Duarte, R. "Three Iron Age Sites in Massingir Area, Gaza Province, Mocambique and Their Importance in the Southern Mocambique Bantu Settlement." *Iron Age Research in Mocambique: Collected Preliminary Reports*. Ed. anon. Maputo: Universidade Eduardo Mondlane, Instituto de Investigacao Cientifica de Mocambique, Centro de Estudos Africanos, Seccao de Pre-Historia, 1976.

Illustrated field investigations and analysis of pottery vessels at three sites, 1/72, 2/75, 4/75 on the Olifants river. Concludes that sites 1/72 and 2/75 represent an eastward expansion of Sotho peoples allied with the Palabowra group, from the Transvaal, and that site 4/75 represents an ancient Xhosa village.

Namibia

980. Mason, R. J. "Prehistoric Stone Structures and Recent Himba Settlements in Northern Namibia and Southern Angola." *Frontiers; Southern African Archaeology Today*. Ed. M. L. Hall, et al. Oxford: BAR International series 207 (Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology 10), 1984. 65-74.

Illustrated report of field investigations, suggests that a strong resemblance exists between prehistoric stone-built structures and the architecture of modern Himba villages.

981. Sandelowsky, B. H. "The Iron Age in South West Africa and Damara Pot-making." *African Studies* 30 (1971): 3—14. Report of fieldwork undertaken in 1968-69. Summarizes the then-scant information available on the Iron Age of Namibia, describing in detail observations of a Damara potter.

982. Sandelowsky, B. H. "Kapako, an Early Iron Age Site on the Okavango River, South West Africa." *South African Journal of Science* 69 (1973): 325.

The discovery of occupation remains at an early site on the Okavango river.

983. Sandelowsky, B. H. "Kapako and Yungu Yungu Iron Age Sites on the Kavango River." *South African Archaeological Society Goodwin Series* 3 (1979): 52-61.

Well-illustrated report of field investigations at two early settlements in Namibia. The Kapako site is characterized as a multicomponent situation, whose earliest 9th-century occupation was associated with the Early Iron Age settlement of the region. Yungu Yungu is believed to be associated with a later phase of occupation identified at Kapako and ancestral to historically known people in this part of Namibia.

Angola

Although Denbow and Wilmsen in their discussions of the archaeological sequence in Botswana include the pottery of Angola with a broad and contiguous range of interrelated ceramics, the evidence from this country is very limited.

984. Clark, J. D. "Some Early Iron Age Pottery from Luanda." *Further Palaeo-anthropological Studies in Northern Luanda*. Lisboa: Museo do Dundo, 1968. 191-96.

Illustrated description of Early Iron Age pottery from Dundo airfield in Mozambique.

San and Bantu Contacts

The presence of small numbers of pottery fragments at otherwise later stone-using forager campsites, in caves and rockshelters or beside hot springs raises a question of contact between these groups. At one time, it was mooted that Early Iron Age communities recruited from forager populations present in the subcontinent to augment their numbers. This is yet to be decided, though Musonda's thesis that foragers were apt to collect discarded bits and pieces from abandoned farming settlements seems a likely answer.

Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of the Subcontinent

985. Clark, J. D. "A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland." *South African Journal of Science* 47 (1950): 80-85.

Summary of archaeological and traditional sources on the presence of San hunters and gatherers in the north and east of Zambia.

986. Clark, J. D. "A Note on the Pre-Bantu Inhabitants of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland." *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 1 (1950): 42-52. Popular version of the preceding.

Examining Forager and Farmer Contacts

987. Laidler, F. W. "The Bantu Potting Industry and Its Impact on Other Native Potting Industries in South Africa." *South African Journal of Science* 29 (1932): 778-91.

Suggests that ceramics were first used in southern Africa by Hottentots but ceramics associated with later Stone Age sites influenced by Bantu potters of the stone-building "Zimbabwe" period. Constructs a

chronology of ceramic types, discussing the impact of one upon the other. Illustrated.

988. Miller, S. F. "Contacts Between the Later Stone Age and the Early Iron Age in South Central Africa." *Azania* 4 (1969): 81-90.

Literature survey of the archaeological evidence for contact between later Stone Age hunter-gatherers and Early Iron Age farmers.

989. Musonda, F. "The Significance of Pottery in Zambian Later Stone Age Contexts." *The African Archaeological Review* 5 (1987): 147-58.

Suggests that pottery made in farming villages but found in hunters' camps is the result of scavenging on the part of the San rather than contact or exchanges between the ethnically diverse populations.

[Coronation Park, Zimbabwe](#)

990. Whitty, A. 'An Iron Age Site at Coronation Park, Near Salisbury.'

South African Archaeological Bulletin 13 (1958): 10-20.

Illustrated field investigations at an Early Iron Age locality, describing pottery associated with the Gokomere style. Posits the site occupied by later Stone Age peoples practicing an advanced mode of pottery manufacture.

[A Sampling of Foraging Sites with Pottery](#)

[Bambata Cave, Zimbabwe](#)

991. Schofield, J. F. "A Report on the Pottery from Bambata Cave." *South African Journal of Science* 37 (1941): 361—72.

Illustrated account of ceramics found in the upper levels of Bambata cave.

992. Walker, N. J. "The Significance of an Early Date for Pottery and Sheep in Zimbabwe." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 38 (1983): 88-92.

Illustrated field data from Bambata Cave in the Matopos dated to just

over 2100 B.P. Posits that Khoi pastoralism began in southwest Zimbabwe in contexts similar to those at Bambata.

[Dombozanga Rock Shelter, Zimbabwe](#)

993. Robinson, K. R. "Dombozanga Rock Shelter, Mtetengwe River Biet Bridge, Southern Rhodesia: Excavation Results." *Arnoldia (Rhodesia)* 1.7 (1964): 1-14.

A small collection of pottery sherds, found in the upper levels of this cave deposit, are described as similar to those from Bambata cave.

[Gokomere Cave, Zimbabwe](#)

994. Gardner, T., L. H. Wells, and J. F. Schofield. "The Recent Archaeology of Gokomere, Southern Rhodesia." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 28 (1940): 210-53.

Illustrated excavations in the Iron Age deposits of this well-known cave. Describes a rich collection of pottery, which became the type collection, identifying a regional facies of the Early Iron Age.

995. Robinson, K. R. "Further Excavations in the Iron Age Deposits at the Tunnel Site, Gokomere Hill, Southern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 155—71.

Illustrated field investigations at the Gokomere site reported in Gardner, Wells and Schofield in 1940.

Excavation sought a comprehensive set of Iron Age materials from this important Early Iron Age site, since the original collection was no longer available. Describes early stamped pottery and associated bone and clay objects. A small collection of later Karanga pottery is described.

[Gwisho Hot Springs, Zambia](#)

996. Fagan, B. M., and F. van Noten. "Two Channel-decorated-pottery Sites from Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 64 (1964): article 8.
Description of fragments of Early Iron Age pottery from Samfya (on the western edge of lake Bangweulu in northern Zambia) and Gwisho "B" (in the Kafie valley in southern Zambia). Fagan and Phillipson illustrated another fragment of a comparably early potsherd from Gwisho in 1965. Derricourt described excavations at the Samfya Forest site in 1979.

[Kamusongolwa Kopje, Zambia](#)

997. Daniels, S. G. H. "A Note on the Iron Age Material from Kamusongolwa Kopje, Zambia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 22 (1967): 142-50.
Stratigraphy and descriptive inventory of Iron Age material from this cave in northwestern Zambia. The pottery from Kamusongolwa Kopje has been attributed to a cultural distribution which also includes materials found at Lubusi in the middle of western Zambia, by Phillipson in 1971 and at Sioma, farther south, by Vogel in 1973.

[Luano Hot Springs, Zambia](#)

998. Bisson, M. S. "Continuity and Discontinuity in Copperbelt and North-Western Province Ceramic Sequences." *Nyame Akuma* 31 (1989): 43-46.
Statistical analyses suggesting that the styles of decoration applied to the pottery in the Early Iron Age assemblages at Kansanshi and Luano are distinct, though they share more in common with one another than they do with stratigraphically later styles.
999. Bisson, M. S. "Later Iron Age Ceramics from the Western Copperbelt, Zambia." *Nyame Akuma* 33 (1990): 30-33.
Illustrated description of later Iron age pottery from the Luano South site in northern Zambia.
1000. Sampson, C. G. "A Preliminary Report on the Luano Spring Deposits, Northern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 20 (1965):

29-33.

Copperbelt hot spring had surface traces of Iron Age occupation as well as earlier levels related to the later Stone Age.

[Mumbwa Cave, Zambia](#)

1001. Clark, J. D. "Further Excavations (1939) at the Mumbwa Caves, Northern Rhodesia." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 29 (1942): 133-201.

Field investigations at Mumbwa Caves, in central Zambia. Emphasis on stone based technology, though associated pottery described and illustrated.

1002. Clark, J. D., and J. F. Schofield. "Iron Age Industry." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 29 (1942): 153—65.

Illustrated description of pottery from upper levels at Mumbwa.

[A Debate over Some Purported Slag from Mumbwa](#)

1003. Dart, R. A., and N. Del Grande. "The Ancient Iron Smelting Cavern at Mumbwa, Northern Rhodesia." *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa* 19 (1931): 379—427.

Illustrated field investigations at Mumbwa Cave. Early pottery and purported evidence of iron smelting. Conclusions challenged by Stanley, in 1934.

1004. Stanley, G. H. "On a Specimen of Supposed Slag from Mumbwa Cave." *South African Journal of Science* 31 (1934): 505-508.

Analysis of material collected by Dart and Del Grande in 1931, as evidence of iron production, has no iron present.

[A Debate over the Pottery from Mumbwa Cave](#)

1005. Macrae, F. B. "Pottery from Mumbwa Cave, Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 39 (1939): article 74.

Suggests that the pottery described by Wells (1938) is indistinguishable from modern wares.

1006. Schofield, J. F. "A Study of the Ceramics from the Deeper Levels of the Mumbwa Cave, Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 39 (1939): article 146.

Disputes Wells arguments of 1939 that pottery found in Mumbwa cave was an integral part of the later Stone Age deposit there.

1007. Wells, L. H. "A Study of the Ceramics from the Deeper Levels of the Mumbwa Cave, Northern Rhodesia." *Man* 39 (1939): article 63.

Illustrated description of pottery excavated from the later Stone Age deposit at Mumbwa Cave. Posits the pottery as an integral part of the Late Stone Age though a pre-Bantu designation not applicable until one can account for continuities with Bantu pottery. Conclusions refuted by Schofield and Macrae in 1939, see above. Some of the pottery described by Wells is part of a local Early Iron Age manifestation though. It has been subsumed into a ceramic tradition found in the Lusaka area and northeast Zimbabwe.

[Nakapapula Shelter, Zambia](#)

1008. Phillipson, D. W. "The Prehistoric Sequence at Nakapapula Rockshelter, Zambia." *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 35 (1969): 172-201.

Illustrated field investigations at a predominantly later Stone Age locality, describing a collection of Early Iron Age pottery.

[Nyazongo Shelter, Zimbabwe](#)

1009. Wells, L. H. "A Report on the Pottery from the Nyazongo Cave, Penhalonga, S. Rhodesia." *Occasional Papers of the Queen Victoria Memorial Library* 1 (1938): 15—18.

Illustrated pottery found in a cave and represented as quite ancient.

[Pomongwe and Tshangula Caves, Zimbabwe](#)

1010. Cooke, C. K. "Report on Excavations at Pomongwe and Tshangula Caves, Matopos Hills, Southern Rhodesia." *South African Archaeological Bulletin* 18 (1963): 73-151.
Illustrated description of some Bambata-style pottery found in this cave deposit.

[Shogweni Cave, South Africa](#)

1011. Davies, O. "Excavations at Shogweni Cave: The Oldest Evidence to Date for Cultigens in Southern Africa." *Annals of the Natal Museum* 22 (1975): 627-62.
Illustrated field investigations of cave deposits in the lower valleys of Natal. Includes a description of pottery, two kinds of cereal and two cucurbits in the upper deposit, which may have been introduced by early Bantu-speaking populations in the area.

[Thysville Cave, Southern Zaire](#)

1012. Mortelmans, G. "Archeologie des Grottes Dimba et Ngovo: Region de Thysville, Bas-Congo." *Actes de IVe Congres Pan-Africain de Prehistoire et de L'Etude du Quaternaire*. Ed. G. Mortelmans. Tervuren, 1962. 407—25.
Illustrated description and chronology of the Thysville ceramics.

[Various Localities in Malawi](#)

1013. Clark, J. D. "Prehistory in Nyasaland," *Nyasaland Journal* 12 (1956).
Some of the earliest archaeological research in Malawi, describes pottery in the upper deposits of rockshelters,
1014. Juwayeyi, Y. M. "The Distribution of Longewe Pottery Sites in Malawi." *Nyame Akuma* 27 (1986): 23—25.
Illustrated investigations surveying a category of pottery frequently found at rockshelter sites in southern Malawi.

Various Sites in the Transvaal

1015, Mason, R J. *Prehistory of the Transvaal: A Record of Human Activity*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand Press, 1962.

Illustrated research in a broad range of southern African Stone Age and later manifestations, including various lots of pottery found in forager associations.

Surveys of Chronology and Synthesis

Since the 1960s, *the Journal of African History* has published review articles, listing the current crop of radiocarbon dates. The series was begun by B. M. Fagan, continuing under different authors since. In the beginning, these articles simply listed new dates with a brief introduction and some remarks by the various investigators. As the volume of research increased over the years, the relevance of these lists changed, and in recent years they have been introduced by more extensive survey articles, addressing a broader review of problem and chronology. The following sample reproduces some titles, which seem particularly germane to the archaeology of south central Africa. One article by Phillipson addresses the general problem of explaining the distribution of C-14 determinations in the subcontinent.

1016. Maggs, T. M. O'C. "Some Recent Radiocarbon Dates from Eastern and Southern Africa," *Journal of African History* 18 (1977): 161-91.
Compilation of radiocarbon dates from current field investigations, arranged geographically by cultural horizon.
1017. Maggs, T. M. O'C, and G. Whitelaw. "A Review of Recent Archaeological Research of Food-producing Communities in Southern Africa." *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 3-24.
Summary review of current archaeological research on food-producing societies in the subcontinent south of the Zambezi. Including research on pastoralist as well as farming economies.
1018. Mgomezulu, G. C. Y. "Recent Archaeological Research and Radiocarbon Dates from East Africa." *Journal of African History* 22 (1981): 435-56.
Summary article chronicling current research and reporting new radiocarbon dates.
1019. Parkington, J., and M. L. Hall. "Patterning in Recent Radiocarbon Dates from Southern Africa as a Reflection of Prehistoric Settlement and Interaction." *Journal of African History* 28 (1987): 1-25.
Review of latest radiocarbon dates with particular reference to understanding the spread of early farming communities and determining their interaction with indigenous hunter-foragers.

1020. Phillipson, D. W. "The Chronology of the Iron Age in Bantu *Africa*." *Journal of African History* 16 (1975): 321—42.

Using a grouped statistical arrangement of radiocarbon dates, Phillipson maps the *floruit* of the different Early Iron Age ceramic styles of eastern and southern Africa in order to determine a pattern of spread of early Bantu populations from a center manufacturing Urewe style pottery in east Africa.

1021. Robertshaw, P. "Archaeology of Eastern Africa: Recent Developments and More Dates." *Journal of African History* 25 (1984): 369-93.

Summary review of current archaeological research and its results and a detailed summary of new radiocarbon dates.

1022. Sinclair, P. J. J. "Archaeology in Eastern Africa: An Overview of Current Chronological Issues." *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 179-219.

Summary review of current research on food-producing settlements and the origins of complex societies in anglophone east and central Africa and Madagascar and list of recent radiocarbon determinations.

Register of Authors

(Numbers in index refer to entry numbers.)

Abraham, D. P., [248](#), [249](#), [250](#), [251](#), [264](#), [555](#)
Ajayi, J. F. A., [162](#)
Aldridge, S., [765](#)
Alexander, J., [719](#)
Allan, W., [210](#)
Alpers, E., [252](#), [253](#)
Anciaux de Faveau, [816](#)
Anderson, A. A., [605](#)
Anderson, F. V., [622](#), [675](#)
Andree, R., [361](#), [437](#)
Andrews, E. M., [487](#), [488](#), [489](#), [490](#)
Anonymous, [14](#), [60](#), [108](#), [176](#), [268](#), [319](#), [327](#), [342](#), [343](#), [348](#), [365](#), [376](#), [381](#), [387](#), [405](#), [406](#), [407](#), [408](#),
[409](#), [410](#), [411](#), [412](#), [413](#), [414](#), [416](#), [417](#), [418](#), [426](#), [427](#), [444](#), [445](#), [457](#), [459](#), [460](#), [463](#), [491](#), [516](#),
[517](#), [518](#), [520](#), [528](#), [529](#), [530](#)
Architect, The, [461](#)
Atmore A., [78](#)
Aukema, J., [278](#)
Avery, D. H., [712](#), [714](#)
Azevedo, M. J., [38](#)
Bacon, E., [165](#)
Baines, T., [363](#)
Balfour, H., [497](#)
Balsan, F., [787](#)
Barber, H. M., [450](#)
Barker, G., [99](#), [966](#)
Barrau, J., [224](#)
Bart, H., [320](#)
Bartels, M., [378](#), [451](#)
Baumann, M., [619](#)
Beach, D. N., [254](#), [255](#), [771](#)
Beatty, G. C., [64](#)
Beaumont, P. B., [772](#)
Behm, E., [366](#)
Beke, C. T., [367](#), [368](#), [369](#)
Bennett, J., [183](#)
Bent, J. T., [393](#), [394](#), [395](#), [396](#), [397](#), [398](#), [399](#), [400](#), [401](#), [402](#), [403](#), 4041
Bernhard, F. O., [356](#), [357](#), [358](#), [606](#), [870](#), [871](#), [872](#), [873](#)
Beuster, C., [55](#)
Bhila, H. H. K., [256](#), [788](#)
Bibliothekar Chetham, [13](#)
Birmingham, D., [81](#), [184](#), [257](#)
Bishop, W. W., [177](#)
Bisson, M. S., [801](#), [836](#), [837](#), [998](#), [999](#)

Black, C., [52](#)
Blacking, J., [565](#)
Bobb, F. S., [39](#)
Borland, C. H., [134](#)
Boscawen Wright, W., [500](#)
Boxer, C. R., [262](#)
Brain, C. K., [561](#)
Brandt, S. A., [179](#)
Brelsford, W. V., [703](#)
Brou, A., [149](#)
Brown, R., [197](#)
Bruwer, A. J., [132](#)
Bryce, J., [56](#)
Bucher, H., [277](#)
Buckland, A. W., [388](#)
Bullock, C., [150](#)
Burke, E. E., [7](#)
Burnham, F. R., [57](#)
Bushell, J. E., [824](#)
Bushell, J. F., [824](#)
Bushnell, G. H. S., [580](#)
Cahen, D., [242](#), [828](#)
Cameron, G. H., [151](#)
Cameron, N. E., [117](#)
Campbell, A. C., [902](#)
Cashdan, E., [924](#)
Caton-Thompson, G., [19](#), [61](#), [321](#), [524](#), [525](#), [526](#), [527](#), [611](#)
Chaplin, J. H., [573](#), [581](#)
Chatterton, J. F., [951](#)
Childs, S. T., [705](#)
Chimundu, H., [328](#)
Chittick, H. N., [178](#)
Clark, J. D., [41](#), [70](#), [71](#), [163](#), [177](#), [179](#), [180](#), [217](#), [716](#), [725](#), [781](#), [831](#), [832](#), [846](#), [984](#), [985](#), [986](#), [1001](#),
[1002](#), [1013](#)
Clarkson Fletcher, H., [140](#)
Cline, W., [698](#)
Cole, S., [180](#)
Cole-King, P. A., [824](#)
Collett, D. P., [206](#), [624](#), [625](#), [812](#), [951](#)
Collins, R. O., [8](#)
Connah, G., [74](#), [766](#)
Cooke, C. K., [26](#), [27](#), [43](#), [1010](#)
Crabtree, W. A., [506](#)
Crawford, J. R., [876](#), [887](#), [888](#)
Crawford, O. G. S., [531](#), [647](#)
Cronin, M., [786](#)
Crosby, C. A., [37](#)
Crowder, M., [162](#)
Cruz e Silva, T. da, [181](#), [969](#), [970](#), [976](#)
d'Albertis, E., [65](#)

d'Anvers, N., [314](#)
d'Arcy, Anderson, G., [120](#)
Daneel, M. L., [276](#)
Daniels, S. G. H., [576](#), [688](#), [861](#), [997](#)
Dart, R. A., [537](#), [1003](#)
Daubenton, F., [634](#)
Dauer, A. M., [377](#)
David, N., [228](#)
Davidson, B., [75](#)
Davies, O., [1011](#)
Davies, O., [638](#)
Davison, S., [733](#)
Davison-Hirschmann, S., [822](#)
Dayton, J. E., [562](#)
de Camp, C. C., [122](#)
de Camp, L. S., [121](#), [122](#)
de Maret, P., [242](#), [583](#), [666](#), [667](#), [720](#), [802](#), [813](#), [816](#), [818](#), [828](#)
de Vaal, J. B., [626](#)
de Wet, J. M. J., [186](#), [219](#)
del Grande, N., [1003](#)
Denbow, J. R., [905](#), [906](#), [908](#), [909](#), [910](#), [914](#), [919](#)
Denton, D., [763](#)
Denyer, S., [773](#)
Derricourt, R. M., [30](#), [829](#), [833](#), [834](#), [850](#), [851](#), [952](#)
Devisse, J., [789](#)
Dicke, B. H., [269](#)
Dickinson, R. W., [974](#)
Dingle, M. E., [754](#)
Doke, C. M., [706](#)
Dornan, S. S., [100](#)
Douslin, H. B., [492](#)
Dowie, R. C., [903](#)
du Toit, A. P., [582](#)
Dumat, H. A., [493](#)
Durand, R. A., [519](#)
Ehret, C., [182](#), [229](#), [230](#)
El Fasi, M., [166](#)
Eloff, J. F., [95](#)
Erskine, St. V. W., [371](#)
Etherington, N., [350](#)
Evers, T. M., [203](#), [312](#), [639](#), [748](#), [767](#), [794](#), [928](#), [929](#), [931](#), [932](#), [933](#), [934](#), [943](#), [945](#), [952](#), [953](#), [954](#)
Fadeev, L. A., [115](#), [116](#)
Fagan, B. M., [79](#), [82](#), [83](#), [84](#), [96](#), [133](#), [167](#), [234](#), [290](#), [293](#), [294](#), [306](#), [313](#), [322](#), [323](#), [574](#), [575](#), [576](#),
[579](#), [676](#), [677](#), [721](#), [768](#), [795](#), [796](#), [797](#), [803](#), [846](#), [847](#), [852](#), [855](#), [856](#), [857](#), [860](#), [996](#)
Fage, J. D., [164](#), [168](#)
Feely, J. M., [707](#)
Filmer, N. T., [838](#)
Finch, E. M., [645](#)
Findlay, A. G., [338](#)
Flinders-Petrie, W. M., [498](#)

Fosbrooke, H. A., [659](#), [660](#)
Fouché, L., [610](#)
Frey, E., [584](#)
Friede, H. M., [708](#), [734](#), [753](#), [755](#), [757](#), [758](#), [761](#), [949](#)
Fripp, C. H. E., [646](#)
Fritsch, G., [607](#)
Frobenius, L., [141](#)
Fromm, E., [446](#)
Gabel, C., [183](#)
Galloway, A., [613](#)
Gann, L. H., [1](#)
Garbutt, H. W., [270](#), [499](#)
Garcia Ayuso, D. F., [364](#)
Gardner, G., [97](#), [98](#), [612](#), [614](#), [994](#)
Garlake, P. S., [20](#), [76](#), [101](#), [124](#), [329](#), [560](#), [571](#), [589](#), [590](#), [595](#), [596](#), [683](#), [874](#), [890](#), [891](#), [967](#)
Gatehouse, R. P., [552](#), [553](#)
Gayre, R., [139](#)
Geare, R. I., [501](#)
Gilman, C., [661](#), [662](#)
Gooch, W. D., [389](#)
GoodaU, E., [558](#), [684](#), [899](#)
Gordon, H. S., [751](#)
Grant, M. R., [752](#)
Gray, R., [89](#), [169](#), [184](#)
Greenburg, J. H., [231](#)
Gregory, J. W., [152](#)
Grotpeter, J. J., [31](#)
Gwatkin, R. D. S., [651](#), [652](#), [653](#)
Hall, M. L., [21](#), [134](#), [185](#), [202](#), [330](#), [331](#), [332](#), [333](#), [784](#), [785](#), [1019](#)
Hall, R. N., [15](#), [16](#), [47](#), [142](#), [455](#), [456](#), [462](#), [465](#), [467](#), [468](#), [469](#), [470](#), [471](#), [472](#), [473](#), [474](#), [475](#), [476](#),
[654](#), [655](#)
Hallez, T., [419](#)
Hammond Tooke, W. D., [312](#)
Hammond Tooke, W., [17](#), [505](#)
Hanisch, E. O. M., [600](#), [717](#)
Harlan, J. R., [186](#), [218](#), [219](#)
Harley, A. H., [515](#)
Harris, D. R., [207](#)
Hartmann, R., [351](#), [372](#)
Haws, R. C., [53](#)
Helmolt, H. F., [447](#)
Hendrickson, H., [922](#)
Herbert, E. W., [709](#)
Hibbert, C., [315](#)
Hiemaux, J., [668](#), [817](#)
Hitchcock, R. K., [34](#), [187](#)
Hobley, C. W., [109](#)
Hobson, R. L., [532](#)
Hodges, L., [548](#)
Hoernlé,?[sic], [627](#)

Hoernlé, R. F. A., [627](#)
Hoffman, A. C., [549](#)
Hofmeyer, A., [415](#)
Holleman, J. F., [281](#)
Holub, E., [58](#)
Holz, P., [153](#)
Homburger, L., [154](#)
Hough, J. H., [776](#)
Houmoller, J. M., [930](#)
Houser, T., [602](#)
Howat, D. D., [754](#)
Hrbek, I., [166](#)
Hromnik, C. A., [135](#), [136](#), [137](#)
Hübner, A., [608](#)
Huffman, T. N., [85](#), [86](#), [87](#), [102](#), [103](#), [104](#), [200](#), [271](#), [289](#), [298](#), [307](#), [308](#), [334](#), [563](#), [566](#), [576](#), [568](#),
[570](#), [572](#), [591](#), [597](#), [600](#), [689](#), [690](#), [782](#), [804](#), [853](#), [877](#), [878](#), [879](#), [882](#), [883](#), [892](#), [893](#), [894](#), [896](#),
[897](#), [898](#), [901](#), [936](#)
Hugot, H.J., [188](#)
Hull, R. W., [774](#)
Huntingford, G. W. B., [126](#)
Inskip, R. R., [73](#), [672](#), [673](#), [722](#), [848](#), [858](#), [946](#), [947](#), [948](#)
Jackson, J. G., [118](#)
Jaffey, A. J. E., [88](#)
Jeffreys, M. D. W., [112](#), [127](#), [246](#), [247](#)
Jensen, A. E., [113](#), [120](#)
Johnson, F., [508](#)
Johnson, J. P., [499](#)
Johnston, H. H., [144](#), [145](#), [466](#), [509](#)
Jones, N., [48](#)
Jones, P., [208](#)
Jones, T. R., [628](#)
Junod, S. M., [916](#)
Juwayeyi, Y. M., [674](#), [1014](#)
Kamuhangire, E., [766](#)
Kataneke, N. M., [843](#), [849](#)
Keane, A. H., [155](#), [458](#)
Keith, A., [521](#)
Kenny, M. G., [770](#)
Kenyon, K. M., [9](#)
Ki-Zerbo, J., [189](#)
Kiyaga-Mulindwa, D., [907](#)
Klapwijk, M., [279](#), [735](#), [756](#), [762](#), [941](#), [942](#), [954](#)
Klein, R. G., [190](#), [915](#)
Kopytoff, I., [265](#)
Krause, R. A., [691](#), [692](#), [693](#), [694](#)
Kuper, A., [775](#)
Kurashina, H., [825](#)
Küsel, U. S., [699](#)
Labib, S., [789](#)
Lacy, G., [316](#)

Laidler, P. W., [629](#), [695](#), [987](#)
Lancaster, C. S., [211](#), [266](#), [577](#)
Latimer, E. W., [146](#)
Lawton, A. C., [696](#)
Leakey, L. S. B., [663](#)
Leakey, R. E., [191](#)
Lenz, O., [452](#)
Lepionka, L., [911](#), [912](#)
Letcher, O., [147](#)
Lewis, A. L., [428](#)
Leybourne Popham, J., [503](#)
Lezard, A., [148](#)
Lipsett, W. G., [156](#)
Livingstone, C., [390](#)
Livingstone, D., [390](#)
Lumb, S. V., [2](#)
Luschan, F. von, [63](#), [420](#)
Lyttleton, F., [66](#)
MacKenzie, J., [609](#), [700](#)
MacQueen, J., [391](#)
Macrae, F. B., [1005](#)
Maggs, T. M. O'C., [623](#), [635](#), [636](#), [637](#), [640](#), [947](#), [956](#), [957](#), [958](#), [959](#), [960](#), [961](#), [962](#), [1016](#), [1017](#)
Mahachi, G., [280](#)
Mair, L., [77](#)
Mallows, W., [138](#)
Maluma, E., [710](#), [851](#)
Mandy, F., [382](#)
Manheimer, E., [59](#)
Mann, R. J., [701](#), [702](#)
Marker, M. E., [203](#)
Marks, S., [81](#), [89](#)
Masey, F. E., [494](#)
Mason, A. Y., [640](#)
Mason, R. J., [641](#), [642](#), [726](#), [783](#), [926](#), [927](#), [930](#), [935](#), [937](#), [938](#), [939](#), [940](#), [950](#), [980](#), [1015](#)
Matthews, T. I., [258](#), [592](#)
Mauch, K., [352](#)
Maufe, H. B., [532](#)
Maund, E. A., [383](#)
Mauny, R., [201](#), [220](#)
Maylam, P., [259](#)
Mcintosh, R., [221](#)
Mcintosh, S. K., [221](#)
Megaw, J. V., [192](#)
Mendelssohn, S., [23](#)
Mennell, F. P., [49](#), [495](#), [727](#)
Merensky, A., [260](#), [339](#), [340](#), [379](#)
Meyer, A., [95](#)
Mgomezulu, G. C. Y., [1018](#)
Miller, S. F., [988](#)
Mills, E. A. C., [838](#)

Miracle, M., [790](#)
Misago, K., [709](#)
Mokhtar, G., [170](#)
Molyneux, T. G., [904](#)
Morais, J. M., [964](#), [965](#), [968](#), [975](#), [975](#)
Moran, E. F., [212](#)
Morant, G. M., [611](#)
More, C. E., [728](#)
Mortelmans, G., [193](#), [821](#), [1012](#)
Morton, F., [35](#)
Mosley, P. N., [733](#)
Mtetwa, R. M. G., [204](#)
Mufaka, K. N., [125](#)
Multhauf, R. F., [764](#)
Murambiwa, I., [601](#)
Murchison, R. I., [344](#)
Musonda, F., [989](#)
Myres, J. L., [110](#), [111](#)
Nazaroft, P. S., [157](#)
Neal, W. G., [455](#), [456](#)
Nenquin, J., [193](#), [669](#), [670](#), [671](#), [814](#), [815](#), [819](#)
Newitt, M. D. D., [261](#)
Ngcongco, L., [923](#)
Niane, D. T., [171](#), [791](#)
Norton, E. A., [656](#)
Nsuka, F., [720](#)
Nydolf, N-G., [971](#)
Ogot, B A., [191](#)
Oliver, R. A., [78](#), [79](#), [90](#), [168](#), [172](#), [232](#), [233](#), [234](#)
Omer-Cooper, J. D., [3](#)
Oppert, G., [18](#)
Oxley Oxland, G. St J., [729](#)
Pachai, B., [173](#)
Parkington, J., [786](#), [1019](#)
Partridge, T. C., [730](#)
Passarge, L., [158](#)
Paver, B G., [54](#)
Paver, F. R., [615](#)
Petermann, A., [353](#), [354](#), [355](#), [373](#), [374](#)
Peters, C., [143](#), [439](#), [440](#), [441](#), [442](#), [443](#)
Peters, L. R., [851](#)
Phillipson, D. W., [32](#), [42](#), [72](#), [91](#), [205](#), [222](#), [223](#), [235](#), [236](#), [237](#), [238](#), [291](#), [292](#), [295](#), [309](#), [310](#), [311](#),
[578](#), [579](#), [593](#), [736](#), [744](#), [835](#), [839](#), [845](#), [852](#), [854](#), [860](#), [861](#), [884](#), [885](#), [886](#), [1008](#), [1020](#)
Phimister, I. R., [564](#)
Pikirayi, I., [594](#)
Piper, A., [766](#)
Pöch, R., [22](#), [62](#)
Pohorilenko, A., [577](#)
Pollack, K., [28](#)
Pollack, O. B., [28](#)

Pope, H. B., [657](#)
Porter, J., [504](#)
Porteres, R., [224](#)
Posnansky, M., [182](#), [239](#), [240](#), [317](#), [318](#), [805](#), [806](#), [807](#), [811](#)
Posselt, W., [380](#)
Prendergast, M. D., [737](#), [738](#), [739](#), [740](#)
Pwiti, G., [598](#)
R, J. D., [341](#)
Rakotoarsioa, J. A., [196](#)
Ramos, M., [973](#)
Randall-MacIver, D., [512](#), [513](#), [514](#)
Ranger, T. O., [194](#), [267](#), [335](#), [336](#)
Rasmussen, R. K., [29](#)
Rau, W. E., [33](#)
Reinecke, T., [904](#)
Reynolds, B. G. R., [687](#)
Rickard, T. A., [534](#)
Rightmire, G. P., [686](#)
Robbins, L. H., [917](#)
Roberts, A. D., [769](#)
Robertshaw, P., [195](#), [206](#), [812](#)
Robertson, J. H., [840](#), [1021](#)
Robins, P. A., [599](#)
Robinson, A. E., [159](#)
Robinson, K. R., [27](#), [105](#), [301](#), [302](#), [303](#), [304](#), [305](#), [543](#), [544](#), [556](#), [557](#), [746](#), [823](#), [826](#), [827](#), [828](#), [880](#),
[881](#), [895](#), [900](#), [993](#), [995](#)
Röder, J., [535](#)
Rösler, R., [375](#)
Rossiter, E., [658](#)
Rotberg, R. I., [178](#)
Rubert, S. C., [29](#)
Rudd, S., [585](#), [586](#)
Saint-Martin, de, V., [349](#), [370](#)
Sampson, C. G., [681](#), [1000](#)
Sandelowsky, B. H., [981](#), [982](#), [983](#)
Saunders, C. C., [24](#)
Schäfer, H., [448](#)
Schebesta, P. P., [114](#)
Schlichter, H. G., [362](#), [431](#), [432](#), [433](#), [434](#), [435](#), [436](#)
Schmidt, P., [711](#), [712](#)
Schofield, J. F., [129](#), [282](#), [522](#), [523](#), [616](#), [697](#), [731](#), [889](#), [918](#), [963](#), [991](#), [994](#), [1002](#), [1006](#)
Scudder, T., [213](#)
Scully, R. T. K., [944](#)
Selous, F. C., [384](#), [385](#)
Senna-Martinez, J. C. de, [977](#)
Shaw, T., [225](#), [226](#)
Sheriff, A. M. H., [792](#)
Sherrat, A., [174](#)
Shinnie, M., [80](#)
Shinnie, P. L., [175](#)

Shrubsall, F. C., [477](#), [478](#)
Siegfried, W. R., [776](#)
Sinclair, P. J. J., [92](#), [196](#), [968](#), [971](#), [972](#), [978](#), [1022](#)
Smith, M. R., [34](#), [187](#)
Smith, P. E. L., [209](#)
Smolla, G., [808](#)
Soper, R., [241](#), [809](#), [810](#)
Spady, J. G., [119](#)
Stabbins, P., [25](#)
Stanko, J., [754](#)
Stanley, G. H., [1004](#)
Stannus, H. S., [713](#)
Stayt, H. A., [538](#)
Steel, R. H., [732](#), [734](#), [749](#), [750](#), [753](#), [755](#), [758](#), [759](#), [761](#), [787](#), [930](#)
Stemler, A., [186](#), [219](#)
Stevens, C. G., [533](#)
Stokes, C. S., [67](#)
Stokes, E., [197](#)
Stokes, F. M. C., [123](#)
Stuart, J. M., [392](#)
Summers, R. F. H., [27](#), [36](#), [50](#), [93](#), [106](#), [283](#), [284](#), [285](#), [286](#), [287](#), [288](#), [324](#), [325](#), [326](#), [360](#), [541](#), [542](#),
[544](#), [545](#), [546](#), [569](#), [649](#), [650](#), [727](#)
Sutton, J. E. G., [198](#), [643](#), [644](#), [664](#), [769](#), [798](#)
Swan, J. T., [951](#)
Swan, R. M. W., [421](#), [422](#), [423](#), [424](#), [425](#), [429](#), [430](#)
Taggart, C., [603](#)
Taylor, M. O. V., [630](#), [955](#)
Taylor, M., [536](#)
Teixeira Duarte, R., [979](#)
Theal, G. M., [10](#)
Thomas, L. V., [201](#)
Thompson, G., [345](#), [346](#)
Thompson, L., 199
Thorp, C., [588](#), [875](#)
Tindall, P. E. N., [4](#)
Torrend, J., [453](#), [507](#)
Trevor, T. G., [539](#), [620](#)
Trigger, B G., [337](#)
Turner, G., [587](#)
Tylor, E. B., [454](#)
van den Berg, R. P., [748](#)
van der Merwe, N. J., [200](#), [686](#), [714](#), [715](#), [723](#), [741](#), [742](#), [745](#), [799](#), [943](#), [944](#)
van der Sleen, W. G. N., [550](#), [800](#)
van Hoepen, E. C. N., [631](#)
van Noten, F., [242](#), [996](#)
van Oordt, J, F., [160](#)
van Riet Lowe, C., [559](#), [617](#), [632](#)
van Schalkwyk, J. A., [743](#)
van Waarden, C., [920](#), [921](#)
van Warmelo, N. J., [718](#)

Vansina, J., [201](#), [243](#), [244](#), [263](#), [274](#), [793](#)
Venning, J. H., [496](#)
Vercoutter, J., [724](#)
Vogel, J. C., [570](#), [572](#), [934](#)
Vogel, J. O., [94](#), [214](#), [215](#), [216](#), [245](#), [296](#), [297](#), [299](#), [300](#), [678](#), [679](#), [680](#), [682](#), [747](#), [830](#), [841](#), [842](#), [843](#),
[844](#), [859](#), [862](#), [863](#), [864](#), [865](#), [866](#), [867](#), [868](#), [869](#)
Voight, E. A., [40](#), [618](#)
von Bezing, K. L., [948](#)
Wagner, P. A., [751](#), [760](#)
Wainwright, G. A., [130](#), [131](#)
Walker, E. A., [5](#)
Walker, N. J., [604](#), [992](#)
Wallace, C. A., [51](#)
Walmsley, H. M., [347](#)
Walton, J., [272](#), [273](#), [275](#), [554](#), [621](#), [777](#), [778](#), [779](#), [780](#)
Waugh, E., [68](#)
Webb, E. J., [11](#)
Welbourne, R. G., [913](#)
Wells, L. H., [633](#), [646](#), [994](#), [1007](#), [1009](#)
Wenner, D. B., [715](#)
White, F., [464](#), [479](#), [480](#), [481](#), [482](#), [483](#), [484](#), [485](#), [486](#)
White, H., [729](#)
Whitelaw, G., [1017](#)
Whitty, A., [540](#), [544](#), [546](#), [547](#), [551](#), [599](#), [685](#), [990](#)
Wickman-Nydolf, G., [971](#)
Wiehman, H., [437](#)
Wieschhoff, H. A., [107](#)
Willoughby, J. C. H., [386](#), [449](#)
Wills, A. J., [6](#)
Wilmot, A., [12](#), [161](#), [510](#)
Wilmsen, E. N., [906](#), [914](#), [925](#)
Wilson, G. E. H., [665](#)
Wiltshire Harmer, H. R., [69](#)
Withers Gill, J., [502](#)
Worsford, W. B., [511](#)
Wrigley, C., [227](#)
Yellen, J. E., [768](#)

Topical Index

The following index suggests sources of information on individual sites, traditional practices and crafts, beyond those listed in the table of contents. Individual research, researchers and commentators should be sought in the authors register, since works by and about individuals are usually grouped together in the bibliography. Summaries of research and wide-ranging syntheses can be found in the contents, as well. Numbers in index refer to entry numbers.

Aerial survey [531](#), [548](#).
Agricultural terraces (East Africa) [643](#), [644](#), [646](#), [659](#), [660](#), [661](#), [662](#), [663](#), [664](#), [665](#).
Agricultural terraces (Zimbabwe) *see* [Inyanganga](#).
Agriculture, origins of [217](#), [218](#), [219](#), [220](#), [221](#), [222](#), [223](#), [224](#), [225](#), [226](#), [227](#), [245](#); technology of: [99](#), [204](#), [206](#), [207](#), [208](#), [209](#), [210](#), [211](#), [212](#), [213](#), [214](#), [215](#), [216](#); ecological effects of [202](#), [203](#), [214](#).
Ancestral cults *see* [territorial and ancestral cults](#)
Arab and Portuguese contact with interior of South Africa [7](#), [8](#), [9](#), [10](#), [11](#), [12](#), [15](#), [16](#), [17](#), [250](#), [251](#).
Archaeology, history of [20](#), [317](#), [318](#), [319](#), [320](#), [321](#), [322](#), [323](#), [324](#), [325](#), [326](#), [327](#), [330](#), [331](#), [332](#), [333](#), [337](#).
Architecture and settlement archaeology, ethnographic observations: [86](#), [771](#), [772](#), [773](#), [774](#), [775](#), [776](#), [777](#), [778](#), [779](#), [780](#), [785](#), [787](#); archaeological observations: [86](#), [214](#), [215](#), [216](#), [540](#), [599](#), [781](#), [782](#), [783](#), [784](#), [786](#), [787](#).
Atlas [162](#), [163](#), [164](#).
Bambandyanalo (South Africa) [40](#), [95](#), [96](#); *see* [Mapungubwe](#).
Bambata Cave (Zimbabwe) [991](#), [992](#).
Bambata pottery [872](#), [879](#); *see* [Bambata cave](#).
Batoka plateau archaeological sites (Zambia) [293](#), [294](#), [298](#), [299](#), [576](#), [672](#), [853](#), [855](#), [856](#), [857](#), [858](#); ethnographic observations [790](#).
Bibliographies [19-39](#).
Broadhurst (Botswana) [908](#).
Broederstroom (South Africa) [936](#), [937](#), [938](#), [939](#), [940](#).
Burial practices, ethnographic observation: [281](#); Malawi [672](#), [673](#), [674](#); South Africa [686](#); Zaire [666](#), [667](#), [668](#), [669](#), [670](#), [671](#); Zambia [675](#), [676](#), [677](#), [678](#), [679](#), [680](#), [681](#), [682](#); Zimbabwe [683](#), [684](#), [685](#); *see* [territorial and ancestral cults](#).
Cattle ranging *see* [pastoralism and cattle ranging](#).
Chamabvefva (Zimbabwe) [896](#), [897](#).
Chedzurgwe (Zimbabwe) [596](#).
Chibuene (Mozambique) [972](#).
Chieftdoms [94](#), [249](#), [261](#), [262](#), [263](#), [312](#).
Chipukuswi Ruin (Zimbabwe) [602](#).
Chitope (Zimbabwe) [888](#).
Chundu (Zambia) [678](#), [679](#), [680](#).
Copper [273](#), [539](#), [573](#), [590](#), [796](#); currency [801](#), [802](#); archaeological observations; [596](#), [603](#), [620](#), [669](#), [748](#), [749](#), [750](#), [751](#), [816](#), [817](#), [903](#); ethnographic and experimental observations: [757](#), [758](#), [759](#).

[760](#); Phoenician: [417](#), [619](#); production of: [699](#), [716](#), [717](#), [718](#), [725](#), [726](#), [727](#), [728](#), [729](#), [730](#), [731](#), [732](#); see [trade and exchange](#).
 Coronation Park (Zimbabwe) [990](#).
 Dambwa (Zambia) [576](#), [578](#), [688](#), [860](#), [861](#).
 Dhlo Dhlo (Zimbabwe) [43](#), [57](#), [482](#), [485](#), [497](#), [501](#), [512](#), [514](#), [519](#), [567](#).
 Dombozanga Rockshelter (Zimbabwe) [993](#).
 Eiland (South Africa) [931](#).
 Exploration, history of [20](#), [314](#), [315](#), [316](#)
 Gokomere Cave (Zimbabwe), archaeological site: [875](#), [918](#), [994](#), [995](#).
 Gokomere ceramic tradition [304](#), [869](#), [910](#), [990](#); see [Gokomere cave](#).
 Gold: ancient gold trade and Great Zimbabwe [85](#), [102](#), [135](#), [144](#), [147](#), [148](#), [155](#), [344](#), [363](#), [392](#), [402](#), [466](#), [481](#), [495](#), [563](#), [564](#), [787](#), [974](#); traditional production [57](#), [584](#), [701](#), [702](#); archaeological investigations of [502](#), [520](#), [573](#), [581](#), [584](#), [603](#), [604](#), [614](#), [620](#), [887](#), [892](#); see [gold bearing burials](#)
 Gold bearing burials [573](#), [603](#), [604](#), [615](#); see [Ingombe Ilede](#).
 Great Zimbabwe (Zimbabwe), descriptions of: [20](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#), [51](#), [52](#), [53](#), [54](#), [55](#), [56](#), [59](#), [61](#), [63](#), [64](#), [65](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#), [69](#); by K. Mauch: [352](#), [353](#), [354](#), [355](#); by W. Posselt: [378](#), [379](#); by members of Chartered Company expedition: [57](#), [381](#), [382](#), [383](#), [384](#), [385](#); archaeological investigations of (selected): [19](#), [20](#), [57](#), [142](#), [143](#), [393](#), [416](#), [421](#), [425](#), [436](#), [449](#), [455](#), [462](#), [479](#), [492](#), [493](#), [494](#), [495](#), [496](#), [514](#), [522](#), [523](#), [533](#), [543](#), [547](#), [551](#), [561](#), [601](#); mining and: [563](#), [564](#); essentially African interpretations of: [20](#), [21](#), [22](#), [74](#), [75](#), [76](#), [77](#), [78](#), [79](#), [81](#), [82](#), [83](#), [84](#), [85](#), [87](#), [90](#), [91](#), [92](#), [93](#), [94](#), [99](#), [100](#), [101](#), [102](#), [103](#), [104](#), [105](#), [106](#), [107](#), [113](#), [114](#), [115](#), [116](#); foreign intruders interpretations of: [132](#), [135](#), [138](#), [139](#), [140](#), [141](#), [142](#), [143](#), [144](#), [145](#), [146](#), [155](#), [156](#), [157](#), [158](#), [160](#), [161](#); see [trade and exchange](#); and Bent; Hall, R. N; Randall-Maciver; Caton-Thompson; Summers; Schofield; and Garlake in the authors register.
 Guides, travellers [40-54](#).
 Gundu (Zambia) [298](#).
 Gwisho Hot Springs (Zambia) [996](#).
 Harleigh Farm (Zimbabwe) [599](#).
 Harmony Farm area (South Africa) [748](#), [767](#), [929](#), [931](#), [951](#); see [Harmony Farm](#).
 History colonial [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#), [6](#), [194](#), [195](#), [327](#), [329](#), [330](#), [331](#), [332](#), [333](#), [335](#), [336](#), [337](#).
 Ingombe Ilede (Zambia) [293](#), [574](#), [575](#), [576](#), [577](#), [579](#), [580](#), [581](#), [582](#), [583](#), [584](#).
 Ingombe Ilede area (Zambia) [576](#), [578](#).
 Inyanga, description of [46](#), [501](#), [512](#), [643](#), [644](#), [645](#), [646](#); as cultivation terraces: [647](#), [648](#), [649](#), [650](#); as ancient fortifications: [651](#), [652](#), [653](#), [654](#), [655](#), [656](#), [657](#), [658](#).
 Iron, introduction of: [237](#), [257](#), [719](#), [720](#), [721](#), [722](#), [723](#), [724](#); mines and mining: [620](#), [698](#), [700](#), [726](#), [727](#), [728](#), [729](#), [731](#), [732](#); traditional technology: [687](#), [698](#), [699](#), [701](#), [703](#), [704](#), [705](#), [706](#), [707](#), [708](#), [709](#), [710](#), [711](#), [712](#), [713](#), [715](#), [744](#), [745](#); archaeological observations: [733](#), [734](#), [735](#), [736](#), [737](#), [738](#), [739](#), [740](#), [742](#), [743](#); experimental observations: [754](#), [755](#), [756](#).
 Iron gongs, as symbols of chieftainship [274](#), [275](#).
 Isamu Pari (Zambia) [574](#), [857](#).
 Itezhitezi (Zambia) [850](#), [851](#).
 Kabondo (Zambia) [857](#), [858](#).
 Kabondo Kumbo (Zambia) [864](#).
 Kalambo Falls prehistoric site (Zambia) [831](#), [832](#).
 Kalomo ceramic tradition (southern Zambia) [293](#), [294](#), [298](#), [299](#), [300](#).
 Kalundu (Zambia) [574](#), [857](#), [858](#).
 Kamangoza (Zambia) [862](#).
 Kamnama (Zambia) [295](#), [854](#).
 Kamusongolwa Kopje (Zambia) [997](#).
 Kangila (Zambia) [293](#), [574](#), [857](#).

Kapula Vlei (Zimbabwe) [895](#).
 Kapwirimbe (Zambia) [884](#), [885](#).
 Katoto (Zaire) [668](#).
 Khami (Zimbabwe) [43](#), [44](#), [45](#), [105](#), [113](#), [481](#), [483](#), [484](#), [485](#), [497](#), [498](#), [499](#), [501](#), [502](#), [512](#), [514](#), [555](#),
[556](#), [557](#), [560](#), [588](#), [601](#).
 Kimberley Reef (Zimbabwe) [887](#).
 Klingbeil (South Africa) [933](#).
 Klipviersberg (South Africa) [949](#), [950](#).
 Kongo [262](#), [263](#).
 Kumadzulo (Zambia) [863](#),
 Landraad (South Africa) [931](#).
 Lanlory (Zimbabwe) [883](#).
 Lekkerwater Ruin (Zimbabwe) [585](#), [586](#), [587](#).
 Leopard's Kopje (Zimbabwe), archaeological site [877](#), [878](#).
 Leopard's Kopje cultural tradition [876](#), [878](#), [800](#), [881](#).
 Luano Hot Springs (Zambia) [998](#), [999](#), [1000](#).
 Lubusi (Zambia) [854](#),
 Lumene Ruin (Zimbabwe) [486](#).
 Lusu (Zambia) [293](#), [858](#).
 Lydenburgh (South Africa) [934](#), [946](#), [947](#), [948](#).
 Mabveni (Zimbabwe) [875](#), [898](#).
 Machili (Zambia) [846](#), [847](#), [848](#), [849](#).
 Magalies valley (South Africa) [930](#).
 Majiri ruin (Zimbabwe) [473](#).
 Makuru (Zimbabwe) [893](#).
 Malawi Iron Age, regional surveys [826](#), [827](#), [828](#).
 Manykeni zimbabwe (Mozambique) [966](#), [967](#), [968](#).
 Mapela Hill (Zimbabwe) [876](#).
 Mapungubwe (South Africa) [40](#), [95](#), [96](#), [97](#), [98](#), [112](#), [610](#), [611](#), [612](#), [613](#), [614](#), [615](#), [616](#), [617](#), [618](#); see
[Bambandyanalo](#).
 Matanga (Botswana) [920](#).
 Matola (Mozambique) [969](#), [970](#), [971](#).
 Maxton Farm (Zimbabwe) [874](#).
 Metallurgy [761](#), [762](#); see entries under [copper](#), [gold](#), [tin](#) and [iron](#).
 Monk's Kop (Zambia) [676](#).
 Monomatapa [248](#), [250](#), [251](#), [252](#), [253](#), [254](#), [256](#), [257](#), [273](#), [453](#), [787](#).
 Mount Hampden (Zimbabwe) [683](#),
 Mt. Ziwa (Zimbabwe) [875](#).
 Mtemankhokwe I (Malawi) [674](#).
 Mumbwa cave (Zambia) [1001](#), [1002](#), [1003](#), [1004](#), [1005](#), [1006](#), [1007](#).
 Muyove (Zimbabwe) [596](#).
 Mwari cult [276](#), [277](#).
 Naba (Zimbabwe) [883](#).
 Nakapapula shelter (Zambia) [1008](#).
 Naletale (Zimbabwe) [43](#), [503](#), [512](#).
 Nanyangu I (Malawi) [825](#).
 Nanyangu II (Malawi) [825](#).
 Ndonde (Zambia) [298](#).
 Ngonde (Malawi) [823](#).
 Niekerk ruins (Zimbabwe) [512](#).

Nkudzi (Malawi) [672](#), [673](#).
 Nyarinde river (Zimbabwe) [596](#).
 Nyazongo shelter (Zimbabwe) [1009](#).
 Ophir [13](#), [14](#), [15](#), [16](#), [17](#), [18](#), [339](#), [340](#), [341](#), [344](#), [345](#), [346](#), [349](#), [354](#), [363](#), [367](#), [368](#), [369](#), [370](#), [373](#), [374](#), [375](#), [386](#), [392](#), [439](#), [441](#), [443](#), [444](#), [446](#), [452](#), [458](#), [468](#), [508](#), [510](#), [534](#).
 Pastoralism and cattle ranging [99](#), [204](#), [205](#), [206](#), [216](#), [630](#), [639](#), [812](#), [875](#), [910](#), [914](#), [915](#), [936](#).
 Phalabowra (South Africa) [686](#), [943](#), [944](#).
 Plaston (South Africa) [932](#).
 Pomongwe cave (Zimbabwe) [1010](#).
 Portuguese contact see [Arab and Portuguese contact](#).
 Pottery, descriptions of identification of: [338](#), [688](#), [692](#), [693](#), [694](#), [695](#); traditional production of: [687](#), [692](#), [693](#), [696](#), [697](#).
 Prehistory, surveys of [70](#), [71](#), [72](#), [73](#), [82](#).
 Rainmaking [278](#), [279](#), [280](#).
 Regina site (Zimbabwe) [483](#), [485](#).
 Robertsdrift (South Africa) [952](#).
 Salisbury common (Zimbabwe) [685](#), [889](#).
 Salt [763](#), [764](#); production of: [765](#), [766](#), [767](#), [768](#), [769](#); trade in: [763](#), [770](#).
 Samfya (Zambia) [833](#), [834](#).
 San [985](#), [986](#).
 San and Bantu Contacts [987](#), [988](#), [989](#).
 Sanga (Zaire) [666](#), [667](#), [669](#), [670](#).
 Sebanzi (Zambia) [852](#).
 Settlement patterns; see [architecture and settlement archaeology](#).
 Shimbala Mass Burial (Zambia) [675](#), [676](#).
 Shogweni Cave (South Africa) [1011](#).
 Silver Leaves (South Africa) [941](#), [942](#).
 Simango (Zambia) [682](#).
 Simbusenga (Zambia) [865](#).
 Sinoia (Zimbabwe) [882](#), [883](#).
 Sioma (Zambia) [844](#).
 Situmpa (Zambia) see [Machili](#).
 Soapstone birds [268](#), [269](#), [270](#), [271](#), [272](#), [273](#), [378](#), [379](#).
 Sofala coast (Mozambique) [974](#), [975](#), [976](#).
 States, traditional African [74](#), [75](#), [76](#), [77](#), [78](#), [79](#), [80](#), [84](#), [85](#), [87](#), [89](#), [90](#), [92](#), [93](#).
 Stone built enclosures (southern Africa) [621](#), [623](#); early travellers' descriptions: 58, [605](#), [606](#), [607](#), [608](#), [609](#); Orange Free State: [634](#); Natal: [635](#), [636](#), [637](#), [638](#), Transvaal: [624](#), [625](#), [626](#), [627](#), [628](#), [629](#), [630](#), [631](#), [632](#), [633](#); see [Mapungubwe](#).
 Tafelkop (South Africa) [935](#).
 Tafuna hill (Zimbabwe) [890](#), [891](#), [892](#).
 Tere (Zimbabwe) [567](#).
 Territorial and ancestral cults [264](#), [265](#), [266](#), [267](#).
 Thandwe (Zambia) [295](#), [854](#).
 Thysville cave (southern Zaire) [1012](#).
 Tin [562](#), [752](#); ancient mines [619](#), [620](#), [732](#), [753](#); traditional production of [753](#).
 Toutswe site and cultural tradition (Botswana) [909](#), [910](#), [911](#), [912](#).
 Trade and exchange [168](#), [184](#), [191](#), [317](#), [787](#), [789](#), [791](#), [792](#); importance of in Zimbabwean system: [85](#), [94](#), [563](#), [577](#);: [596](#); ethno-historical observations: [256](#), [787](#), [788](#), [790](#), [793](#), [924](#), [925](#); archaeological observations: [575](#), [618](#), [794](#), [795](#), [796](#), [797](#), [798](#), [822](#), [827](#), [972](#); trade beads: [550](#),

[582](#), [799](#), [800](#); iron implements, traded: [756](#); trade cloth: [591](#); copper and copper currency: [757](#), [801](#), [802](#); salt trade: [763](#), [770](#).
Traditional mines (Botswana) [732](#), [903](#), [904](#).
Traditional mines (Malawi) [715](#).
Transvaal, ancient mines of [619](#), [620](#), [753](#).
Tshangula cave (Zimbabwe) [1010](#).
Twickenham road (Zambia) [886](#).
Umnukwane (Zimbabwe) [504](#).
Umtali (Zimbabwe) [512](#).
Victoria Falls site (Zambia) [681](#).
Vumba (Botswana) [921](#).
Webster site (Zimbabwe) [487](#), [488](#), [489](#), [490](#), [491](#).
Zambezi valley sites (Mozambique) [973](#).
Zimbabwe (archaeological site) see [Great Zimbabwe](#).
Ziwa pottery tradition [649](#), [870](#), [871](#), [872](#), [873](#), [874](#).
Zomba Range (Malawi) [824](#).

 Cover.jpg